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BRITISH BIOGRAPHY ;

OR,

AN ACCURATE and IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIVES and WRITINGS

OF

Eminent Persons,

IN

GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND;

From WICKLIFF, who began the REFORMATION by his
WRITINGS, to the PRESENT TIME :

WHETHER

STATESMEN,
PATRIOTS,
GENERALS,
ADMIRALS,

PHILOSOPHERS,
POETS,
LAWYERS, or
DIVINES.

IN WHICH

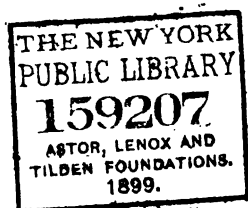
The several Incidents and remarkable Actions of their LIVES,
and the Particularities of their Deaths, that could be collected
from HISTORY, FAMILY MEMOIRS, and RECORDS, are re-
lated; a Catalogue of their Writings given, with occasional
Remarks; and their Characters delineated with Freedom
and Impartiality.

By Joseph Towers,
VOL. I.

Printed for R. GOADBY; and sold by R. BALDWIN, in
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L O N D O N.

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VIA RAIL

P R E F A C E.

AMONG the various species of literary composition, it has been generally allowed, that none is more productive of pleasure, or of instruction, than BIOGRAPHY. We are naturally interested in the actions and characters of great and illustrious men, of whatever age or country; and surely we cannot be indifferent respecting the lives of those excellent and eminent men, who have been an ornament to our own country, who have enlightened it by literature and science, and who by their virtues and abilities have raised it to the highest pitch of reputation.

It is perhaps no national partiality to assert, that no country has produced a greater number of men, distinguished by elevated genius, or exalted virtue, than Great Britain and Ireland. A perusal, therefore, of the lives of such excellent and illustrious men, must have a natural tendency to excite in us a generous emulation, and to animate us to the most worthy and laudable pursuits. The Statesman may be excited to aspire after a greater degree of political knowledge, and to investigate the means of promoting in the best manner the interests of the state, over which he is appointed to preside, by the examples of a WALSINGHAM and a BURLEIGH. The Divine, the

Lawyer, and the Physician, may all be excited to aim at excellence in their several professions by the examples of a BARROW and a TILLOTSON; a COKE, a HALE, and a HOLT; a HARVEY, a SYDENHAM, and a MEAD. The Seaman and the Soldier may be animated to the pursuit of military honours, by the heroic actions of a BLAKE and a MARLBOROUGH; and the disinterested Patriot, who feels for the honour and the interest of his country, and who is a zealous advocate for liberty, and the common rights of mankind, may be animated by the noble examples of a HAMPDEN, a RUSSEL, a MARVEL, and a SYDNEY. And the man of letters and philosophical inquiry may be incited to aspire after literary and scientific eminence, by the immortal labours of a MILTON, a BACON, a BOYLE, a NEWTON, and a LOCKE.

BUT it is not eminence in arms, in arts, or in science only, that we may be taught to aspire after, in the perusal of the lives of the most eminent of our countrymen. It may also stimulate us to aim at the acquisition of what is of still more value and importance, and at the same time universally attainable, Moral Excellence. It is not in the power of every man to be a great Statesman, General, or Philosopher; but every man may cultivate and practise temperance, integrity, benevolence, and humanity. He who cannot enter into any competition with those who have distinguished themselves by their wit, their eloquence, or their learning, may at least learn to imitate their virtues. And even the lives of bad men, such whose eminence of station or abilities have rendered their actions sufficiently important to be properly introduced in a work of this kind, may be
read

read with considerable advantage. The deformity of vice, as well as the beauty of virtue, is best exhibited in real characters; a just representation of which must have a natural tendency to excite in us a love and esteem for the one, and an hatred and contempt of the other. We cannot read the lives of BONNER, of GARDINER, or of JEFFRIES, without feeling a just detestation of bigotry, religious persecution, injustice, and cruelty.

THERE is, we apprehend, the greater propriety in a work of the kind now offered to the Public, because there is no Collection of British Lives hitherto published; but what is either too voluminous, and of too high a price for the generality of readers; or of too inconsiderable a size to admit of any tolerable justice being done to the many eminent persons who have flourished in these kingdoms. Those works of the kind which more particularly deserve to be mentioned, are the *Biographia Britannica*, the *General Dictionary*, and the *New and General Biographical Dictionary* in twelve volumes, 8vo. The latter is in many respects a valuable work; but so large a part of it is taken up with foreign lives, as rendered those of the most eminent persons in Great Britain necessarily short and imperfect; and of the two other works, as the one is seven volumes, folio, and the other ten, it cannot be supposed that they can come into ordinary hands, or that works of so large a size can be very generally read.

IN the compilation of this Work, we have had recourse to all the publications that have been mentioned; and in particular, it would be injustice not

to acknowledge that we have derived very considerable assistance from that elaborate Work, the *Biographia Britannica*. But notwithstanding this, we flatter ourselves that those who are in possession of that larger publication, will not find this Work wholly unworthy of their attention. For besides the publications already mentioned, and other historical and biographical Dictionaries, we have made use of some hundred volumes of single lives, and historical and biographical collections ; besides occasionally making use of manuscripts, particularly those in the British Museum, when we could meet with any that were adapted to our purpose. So that, in the course of our Work, a great variety of authors have been consulted and compared ; the lives have been fresh drawn up, and some introduced that were in no former collection ; many mistakes of preceding writers have been corrected ; and many facts, actions, and characters, placed in a new, and, it is presumed, in a just point of view.

In the characters of individuals, we have sometimes differed from our biographical predecessors. We have not been disposed to lavish our encomiums on some characters, on whom the incense of praise has been bestowed in the most liberal manner by preceding writers. In these cases, however, we hope we have been influenced, not by prejudice, but by reason and by truth. We would wish to be impartial ; but we cannot suppose that commendations are due to the oppressors of mankind, to those who have been employed in trampling on the rights of human nature, however dignified by royal favour, or however elevated by title or by station.

It

IT has been sometimes objected to biographical writers, that they are too apt to introduce ordinary actions and circumstances, and particulars of so common a nature, that no moral wisdom is to be derived from their narrations, or any accurate ideas to be formed of the persons whose lives they undertake to relate. But it should be remembered, that this may frequently result more from necessity, than from any fault in the writer. Incidents of an interesting and characteristic kind, however diligently sought, are not always to be found. "The incidents," says an ingenious writer, "which give excellence to Biography, are of a volatile and evanescent kind, such as soon escape the memory, and are rarely transmitted by tradition." It may also be observed, that there are many particulars and circumstances, which, tho' of too general a nature to illustrate the character, or to point out the peculiar qualities or dispositions of the man, are yet so necessary in any regular account of him, that the omission of them would be censured as a defect by almost every reader. However, we have chiefly attended to the more important and instructive parts of Biography; and wherever such incidents or anecdotes were to be obtained, as had a natural tendency to throw light upon a character, to point out its peculiarities, or to illustrate any moral sentiment, we have always endeavoured to introduce them in our Work.

As we have endeavoured to do justice to the most eminent men which these nations have produced, so we have not been inattentive to female excellence; but have introduced accounts of Ladies who have been distinguished for their piety, the amiableness of their

their manners, their learning, and their ingenuity ; such, in short, who were ornaments to their own age, and patterns to succeeding ones. In the plan of our Work, we have preferred the Chronological order to that of the Dictionary form. The lives of persons who were cotermporaries with each other, are best read together, as one frequently throws a light upon another, and a regard to the order of time seems the most natural disposition of such a Work, and more productive of pleasure and instruction, than the placing of the lives of such persons together as lived at very remote periods from each other. The great advantage of the Dictionary form is, the facility of finding any particular life ; but this advantage we have endeavoured to supply by proper Indexes. In short, we have endeavoured to render this Series of British Lives useful, accurate, entertaining, and instructive ; and we would now submit it, with a becoming deference, to the candour of the Public.



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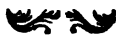
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The LIFE of JOHN WICKLIFF.

THE friends of truth, and of liberty, will ever hold in the highest estimation those illustrious men, who in times of danger and of difficulty, of ignorance, error, and superstition, have dared to make a noble stand against the usurpations of Ecclesiastical Tyranny, undaunted by the dangers which surrounded them. Amongst these worthies JOHN WICKLIFF deserves the most distinguished notice; as his unwearied labours, and the manly spirit which he exerted, in opposing the numerous errors and corruptions of the Romish church, aided by that superior penetration and sagacity, which he discovered in a barbarous and unlettered age, first paved the way for that Reformation, of which we now enjoy the happy effects.

At the period in which this justly celebrated Reformer lived, the corruptions of the church of Rome were arisen to an amazing height. The condition of the greater part of the laity was such, in England, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, that to those who live in a better and more enlightened age, it must appear amazing that mankind should ever have been sunk into such a degree of stupidity, ignorance, and superstition. The religion of Jesus, in itself plain, rational, and consistent, unincumbered with trifling and superstitious ceremonies, and calculated to promote the best interests of mankind, was so obscured and disfigured, that scarce any traces of its original beauty were discernible. Instead of being employed to advance those excellent ends, to which it was so admirably calculated, it was, by the artifices of wicked and designing priests, made an instrument of fraud, injustice, and oppression.

The clergy of those days, instead of instilling into the minds of the laity the principles of piety, of integrity, of benevolence, and universal virtue, which are the essence of every rational system of religion, were employed in inculcating a blind submission to the determinations of the pretended infallible church; an implicit subjection to the clergy, and the Papal See; the observation of penances and pilgrimages; the worshipping of saints and images, praying for the dead, a superstitious reverence for ridiculous relics, the belief of the doctrines of purgatory and transubstantiation, and the necessity of auricular confession, extreme unction, and other similar absurdities. To all these may be added, masses without number, and pardons, dispensations, and indulgences, for any immoralities, however atrocious, if the offenders had but money enough to purchase them.

A religion of this kind must naturally be expected to have had but little tendency to promote real piety and virtue. It evidently had not. The manners of the people in general, as well as of the clergy, were exceedingly licentious and wicked, at the same time that they professed the highest regard for what they called religion; which was, indeed, consistent with the greatest immoralities. "The most abandoned amongst them" (says an ingenious writer) "men who were familiar with crimes that humanity is startled at, would at the hazard of their lives defend the immunities of the church, a consecrated utensil, or a donation made to a convent."

It is not easily conceivable, how men, endued with any degree of reason, could be brought to believe that the favour of the Almighty was to be obtained by such ridiculous observances, whilst they lived in open violation of the obligations of morality. But that they did believe so is manifest; and we may see evidences of it even at this day, in the deluded votaries of the Romish church: for Popery is still, in a great degree, the same. Many of the poorer and more ignorant Roman Catholics, in this country, who are extremely wicked and licentious in their lives, may yet be observed to be superstitiously observant of their absurd rites and ceremonies. There are some among them, who appear even to think it less criminal to commit a robbery than to eat flesh in Lent. "Popery (says a very sensible writer) introduceth an endless train of senseless and silly, yet shewy and sanctimonious observances; the parade of which plays so perpetually on the popular imagination, as to leave neither leisure nor disposition for minding any thing more rational or more real. So many sacraments, fasts, and festivals, however superfluous, absurd, and burdensome; such indefatigable saying and hearing of prayers, though in an unknown tongue; such continual crossings, and counting of beads, though perfectly childish; such external grimaces and bowing to images, though rank idolatry; all this, and a great deal more of the same kind,

kind, being mixed up with infinite solemnity, doth so intoxicate the unguarded populace, that they fancy themselves wonderfully devout and holy, for being out of measure superstitious."

At the period of which we are treating, the clergy had, by means of the influence which they had obtained over the minds and consciences of men, extended their temporal power to a very great height. Priests of every degree claimed an exemption from all civil jurisdiction whatever; so that if a clergyman was guilty of any crime, however atrocious, of theft, perjury, blasphemy, or murder, he was not to be tried by any civil magistrate. As for the sovereign Pontiff himself, he assumed a power not only of determining absolutely all matters of faith and opinion, but even of deposing Princes, Kings and Emperors; and the subjects of any Prince, against whom this reverend impostor had fulminated the sentence of excommunication and deposition, were authorized to rebel against him, and even to kill him.

An heretic (said they) has no right to his crown; and when he is excommunicated, it is no sin for any to kill him.' (a) On this account, the princes of Europe, whatever might be their private sentiments, were extremely unwilling to incur the displeasure of the Papal See. If a prince was excommunicated, and an interdict laid upon his dominions, the clergy from that moment refrained from the exercise of their ordinary functions; extreme unction and the baptism of infants were no more administered; and the dead were carried out, and put into the earth, without priest or prayer. These things had a prodigious effect upon the superstitious minds of the common people; and afforded ample scope for the enemies of any prince, who happened to fall under such a censure, to act against him with great advantage. The most spirited princes, therefore, frequently temporized, concealed their sentiments, and submitted to very mean

(a) How often the Popes thought proper to exercise this their pretended power of deposing princes, though the subjects of such princes did not always join heartily in putting in execution the denunciations of the pontiffs, may appear by the following list of kings and emperors deposed by different Popes.

Pope Zachary I. deposed Childebert king of France.—Gregory VII. deposed Henry IV. Emperor.—Urban II. deposed Philip king of France.—Adrian IV. deposed William king of Sicily.—Innocent III. deposed the emperor Philip.—Innocent IV. deposed king John of England.—Urban IV. deposed Mamphred, king of Sicily.—Nicholas III. deposed Charles, king of

Sicily.—Martin IV. deposed Peter of Arragon.—Boniface VIII. deposed Philip the Fair; and, on this occasion, to justify what he had done, he published in his bull, which is now part of the canon law, the following decree: "We declare and pronounce it, as necessary to salvation, that all mankind be subject to the Roman pontiff."—Pope Clement V. deposed Henry V. Emperor.—John XXII. deposed the Emperor Lodovick.—Gregory IX. deposed the Emperor Wenceslaus, and Paul III. deposed Henry VIII. of England. It may be presumed, that no reasonable man will desire a greater proof of the pride, arrogance, and presumption of the Roman pontiffs.

mean compliances, rather than draw upon themselves the indignation of the Pope, from which they knew very fatal consequences might ensue. In short, the arrogance and pride of the Popes arose to the most insupportable height: they treated not only the ordinary laity, but even sovereign princes themselves, with the utmost insolence and contempt; at the same time that they were many of them, in their private lives, remarkable only for their wickedness. Thus the men who assumed to themselves infallibility (*b*), who pretended to be God's vicars upon earth, to be the sovereign judges of truth, the heads of the Christian church, and the unerring guides of Christians, were frequently monsters of perfidy, of blasphemy, of lust, of pride, and of cruelty; a disgrace not only to religion, but to humanity! If such was the head of the church, it could not be expected that the inferior clergy should be remarkable for their piety or virtue: they were indeed, in general, much otherwise; very ignorant and very profligate. And as to the laity, they became, in consequence of such doctrines, and such teachers, at once wicked and superstitious.

The rapacity, however, of the agents of the Papal See was so great, that in spite of the ignorance and superstition which prevailed, many individuals cried out against such scandalous exactions,

It

(*b*) It must ever be an unanswerable argument against the infallibility of the church of Rome, that several Popes were by their successors excommunicated, their acts abrogated, and the sacraments administered by them, pronounced invalid.——No less than six Popes were expelled by others who usurped their seats; two were assassinated; and the infamous Theodora, by her credit in the holy city, obtained the Popedom for the most avowed of her gallants, who assumed the name of John the Tenth. Another of the same name, a bastard son of Pope Sergius, was called to govern the Christian world at the age of twenty-one. If such were the men who arrogated to themselves titles and attributes peculiar to the deity, can we wonder at the greatest enormities among lay-men?

Nor can the Popes, consistent with reason, or any thing we know of God, be considered as having a divine commission, or as being God's VICARS upon earth; since it is notorious they have made a practice of allowing that which God does and must needs from his nature as a Being of justice, good-

ness, and purity, abhor. Popes in general, for a long series of time, have granted, or rather sold pardons and indulgences to the most abominable Crimes. A little before the Reformation, the form of indulgences was so ample, that rich men were unconcerned what sins they committed, as knowing that they could, living or dead, purchase a Pardon; for if they neglected it during their lives, it was but leaving so much money by their wills after their deaths for masses and indulgences, and they were assured that all would be forgiven them.

There is a book called, "The Tax of the Sacred Roman Chancery:" In which there is a particular account how much money was to be paid into the apostolic, or Pope's Chamber, for almost all sorts of vices. For instance; "He who had been guilty of incest with his mother, sister, or other relation, either in consanguinity, or affinity, is taxed at five *Gros*. The absolution of him who has despoiled a virgin, six *Gros*. The absolution of him who has murdered his father, mother, sister, or wife, five or seven *Gros*. The absolution

It appears that the money collected in England by the Pope's agents, on various pretences, amounted to two thirds more than the produce of the royal treasury ; add to this, that the disposal of most of the benefices in England was claimed by the Pope, who generally bestowed them upon foreign ecclesiastics, who, by virtue of the Pope's dispensation, enjoyed the profits without ever residing in the kingdom ; and these benefices were farmed out to the English, who served the cures for very small salaries. Many complaints of these grievances had been exhibited to the court of Rome, but without effect. Some efforts were however made by the Parliament in the reign of King Edward the Third

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absolution and pardon of all acts of fornication, committed by any of the clergy, in what manner soever ; whether it be with a nun, within or without the limits of the nunnery ; or with his relations in consanguinity, or affinity, or with his god-daughter, or with any other woman whatsoever ; and whether also the said absolution be given in the name of the clergyman himself only, or of him jointly with his whores, with a dispensation to enable him to take and hold his orders and ecclesiastical benefices, and with a clause also of inhibition, costs thirty *Tournois*, and nine or thirteen *Ducats*. And if besides the above, he receives absolution from sodomy, or bestiality, with the dispensation and clause of inhibition, as before, he must pay nineteen *Tournois*, twelve *Ducats*, and six *Carlins*. But, if he receives absolution from sodomy or bestiality only, with the dispensation or clause of inhibition, he pays only thirty-six *Tournois*, and nine *Ducats*.—A nun, having committed fornication several times, within and without the bounds of the nunnery, shall be absolved, and enabled to hold all the dignities of her order, even that of *Abbess*, by paying thirty-six *Tournois*, and nine *Ducats*.—The Absolution of him who keeps a concubine, with dispensation to take and hold his orders and ecclesiastical benefices, costs 21 *Tournois*, 5 *Ducats*, and 6 *Carlins*. This is a translation of the very words of the book itself ; only the articles as far as the* are wanting in one edition, However, these articles

also are in the most perfect and correct editions.—This Book has been several times printed, both in Popish and Protestant countries ; and the Protestant princes inserted it among the causes of their rejecting the Council of Trent. When the Papists saw what use the Protestants made of it, they put it into the list of prohibited Books. But then they condemned it only upon the supposition of its having been corrupted by the Protestants or Heretics. But let them suppose as much as they please, that it has been corrupted by Heretics ; the editions of it, which have been published in Popish countries, and which the Papists cannot disown, as that of Rome, 1514, that of Cologne, 1515, those of Paris, 1520, 1545, and 1625, and those of Venice, one in the sixth Vol. of *Oceanus juris*, published in 1533 ; the other in the sixteenth Vol. of the same collection, reprinted in 1584 : These are more than sufficient to justify the reproaches of the Protestants, and to cover the church of Rome with confusion. The Popish controversialists, who have not a word to say against the authority of the edition of Rome, or that of Paris, &c. are under great perplexity. However, since the Protestants have made so great an handle of this book, the Papists pretend that tho' some of the Popes have been guilty of such infamous practices, and suffered such books to appear, yet the church of Rome in general abhors them. [A fine proof of the infallibility of their Popes!] But the church of Rome has never shewn, by the suppression of these taxes, that she had them in abhorrence.

to put a stop to these grievances, and with some success; and the rapacity of the Pope and of the clergy, and the insolent use they made of their usurped power, made the laity the more ready to attend to any arguments which might be brought either against their practices, or their opinions. Such was the state of religion and the church at the time of Wickliff's first appearance in the world.

However, before we proceed in our relation of the life of this Reformer, we shall take a general view of the principal public transactions of this period, which may enable us to form a juster notion of several particulars which will arise in the course of this life, and some succeeding ones. Edward the Second, King of England, in the latter end of whose reign Wickliff was born, was deposed by his Parliament in 1327, in consequence of his own imprudent conduct, and weak attachment to Favourites, and by the contrivances of his Queen Isabella, and Roger Mortimer. He was succeeded by his son Edward the Third, who was yet a minor, being only in the fourteenth year of his age. A regency was appointed by the Parliament, for the administration of government, during the minority of the young King; but, notwithstanding this, the public affairs were entirely directed by the Queen and Mortimer; between whom it was universally believed there was a criminal correspondence. The King of Scotland, taking advantage of the minority of Edward, had sent an army into England, and ravaged its borders. The young King, on hearing the news of this irruption, had an ardent desire to signalize himself in the defence of his kingdom; and although those who governed in his name, had no great inclination for war, yet as they did not think it prudent to put up with such an insult, an army was raised, and Edward put himself at the head of it, to oppose the encroachments of the Scots, and to revenge the affront and injury which the nation had sustained. Whilst the young King was employed in this expedition, his unhappy father, Edward the Second, who had been continued in confinement in Kenelworth-castle from the time of his deposition, was removed from thence to Berkley-castle, and there barbarously and treacherously murdered. Young Edward was entirely unacquainted with the manner of his father's death, and supposed him to have died naturally; and as he had not been very successful in his campaign, having found himself unable to do any great injury to the Scots, though he obliged them to retire, he returned to York, and there solemnized his nuptials with Philippa of Hainault, to whom he had been contracted by means of his mother. Shortly after Edward's marriage, a very dishonourable and disadvantageous peace was concluded with the King of Scotland, which was chiefly managed by the Queen-mother Isabella and Mortimer, who were of opinion that a war was against their interests; and this peace was afterwards strengthened and confirmed by the marriage of David, Prince of Scotland,

Scotland, with Johanna, sister to king Edward. This peace, however, though the greater part of the nation was exceedingly disgusted at it, received a parliamentary sanction; Mortimer, and the queen-mother, having found means to get over to their interests a majority of the Parliament. This is one amongst other instances in the English history, some perhaps at a much later period, which are sufficient to evince that Parliaments are not infallible, nor their determinations always to be depended on. Means may frequently be found, by Ministers or Princes, to bias the judgment, and to warp the integrity, of a great number of individuals in a parliament, which cannot be taken with a whole nation. The majority of Members in a parliament may therefore be influenced by motives very different from a regard to the interests of their country; whereas the body of the nation being, unbiassed, judge impartially, and therefore they generally judge rightly. Henry, earl of Lancaster, and some other Lords, had not attended this Parliament: they were dissatisfied that the queen-mother and Mortimer had usurped all authority, contrary to the original intent of the parliament, who had nominated a regency, consisting of twelve barons to manage the public affairs. The tragical end of the late king, Edward the second, and the dishonourable treaty with Scotland, furnishing them with a plausible cause of complaint, they began to hold private conferences, in order to redress the disorders of the government; for which purpose an association was afterwards entered into by Lancaster and these noblemen, with the earls of Kent and Norfolk, the king's uncles together with some others of the peers; who unanimously resolved to stand upon their defence in case they were attacked, and at the same time published a manifesto containing their reasons for taking up arms. The queen-mother and Mortimer, now created earl of March, falsely insinuated to the young King, that those who had taken arms intended to deprive him of the crown; and that his two uncles, and Henry, earl of Lancaster, grandson to king Henry the Third, had formed a design to exclude the issue of Edward the second from the throne. Edward, who had no suspicion of his mother, gave ready ear to this accusation, and being therefore inflamed against the malecontents, determined to compel those by force to return to their duty, whom he already considered as rebels. This affair would probably have been attended with fatal consequences; but the queen-mother was unwilling that matters should be carried to extremities, considering that it might be as dangerous for her as for the discontented Lords: and they, on their part, not having yet formed a party strong enough to carry things to the point they aimed at, were not unwilling to desist, at least for the present; and accordingly a pardon being offered them, they accepted it and laid down their arms. The earl of March, supported by the queen-mother, continued to act in so arrogant and arbitrary a manner, that he excited the general disgust of the

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the people against him ; and the earl of Kent, uncle to the king, having expressed his dislike of the measures of the queen-mother and her favourite with great freedom, they laid a snare for the destruction of that prince, and brought him to the block. In 1328 died Charles the Fair, king of France, and leaving no male issue, Edward, king of England, demanded the crown of France, as being the nephew, and nearest relation to the deceased king ; Philip of Valois, and cousin-german to the late king, had, however, been crowned king of France ; it being maintained by Philip, and admitted by the peers of France, that Edward's claim of right being derived only from his mother, he was excluded by the Salique law ; by which, they said, not the females only, but their descendents also, were excluded from the succession to the throne of France. Edward's ambassadors were not even heard ; and as it was not in his power to prosecute his claim at that time, he dissembled his intentions, and even did homage to Philip for Guienne and Ponthieu, though he appears evidently to have had no design to drop his pretensions.

Soon after Edward's return from Amiens, at which place he performed the ceremony of homage to Philip, he began to be suspicious of the queen his mother's conduct ; and as his suspicions were soon confirmed by the informations of those about him, he was at length entirely convinced of the bad conduct, both of his mother and her favourite ; and accordingly contrived to seize the earl of March at Nottingham castle, where he lodged, as did also the queen-mother. He sent Mortimer to the tower, and confined his mother in the castle of Rising in Norfolk, where she lived in confinement twenty-eight years. King Edward having proceeded thus far, immediately dissolved the parliament, and called another by proclamation. The new parliament met at London, with dispositions very different from those of the former ; and the majority of the members were very glad to see the kingdom free from the tyranny of Mortimer. As there were few who were attached to him from any other motive, than a regard to the influence and power he had been possessed of, the moment he was deprived of these he found himself universally abandoned ; the common fate of favourites and wicked ministers. Edward, in his speech to the new parliament, declared to them, that it was his intention, with the consent of his subjects, to assume the reins of government himself, tho' he was yet under age ; to which the parliament readily and cheerfully agreed. The earl of March was condemned by the parliament even without observing the common forms of trial, and hanged as a traitor at the common gallows at Tyburn. The spirit which Edward exerted in these transactions, contributed to wipe off the blemishes with which his minority had been sullied ; and was an happy presage to his subjects of the prosperity of his future reign. Soon after he formed a design of conquering Scotland, and raised Edward Baliol to the throne of that kingdom.

kingdom, in order to carry his intentions the better into execution. He made several expeditions into Scotland, ravaged without mercy those parts of it which would not submit to him, and was in general very successful. When he imagined he had sufficiently subdued Scotland, he resolved to attack France, and to exert his utmost endeavours to wrest the crown from Philip of Valois; and with this view he made an alliance with several considerable princes of Europe. He assumed the title of king of France, and forbid all his ministers to give Philip any other title than that of earl of Valois. Benedict XII. who was then Pope, exhorted Edward to quit the title of king of France; but Edward, who does not appear to have been a very dutiful son of the church, paid no regard to his Holiness's exhortations. In the course of this war, with Philip, Edward gained the greatest military reputation, and spread the terror of his arms through all France; he totally defeated, on the coast of Flanders, the whole French fleet, consisting of four hundred sail, so that only thirty ships escaped; he exposing his own person with the utmost bravery. At the famous battle of Cressy, in which he was attended by his son the celebrated Black Prince, who was then only sixteen years of age, and who greatly distinguished himself, he gained a complete victory over the French army; and afterwards made himself master of the important town of Calais. In the parliament which he called, in 1342, he confirmed Magna Charta in a very solemn manner; and the same year several beneficial laws were enacted; and, amongst others, the famous statute of Provisors.

The statute of Provisors was an act against those who brought *provisions* from the court of Rome for benefices. The Popes, who had assumed the power of disposing of the benefices of the kingdom, did frequently, without so much as staying till they became vacant, confer them on persons, generally foreigners and their own creatures, who were to take possession upon the death of the present incumbents. This raised loud complaints from the patrons of such livings; and Pope Clement VI. having carried this matter farther than any of his predecessors, the Parliament had been forced to complain of it to him, but it was to no manner of purpose. The Pope defended what had been done by himself and his predecessors, as an undoubted prerogative of the holy See; and the Parliament finding that it was in vain to expect any redress from the court of Rome, resolved to provide against this evil by their own authority. Accordingly by the statute of Provisors it was enacted, that in case the Pope collated to any archbishopric, bishopric, dignity or other benefice, contrary to the rights of the king, chapters, or patrons, the collation was to fall to the king for one turn. And if any person sued for, and procured *reservations* or *provisions* from the court of Rome, he should be imprisoned till he had made fine to the king at his will, and found sufficient surety not to sue any process against

against any man in the court of Rome, on the score of his imprisonment. It was also enacted, that if any of the king's subjects should carry causes into a *foreign* court, the cognizance whereof belonged to the king's court, they should be imprisoned and their lands, goods, and chattles, be forfeited to the king. The Pope was extremely nettled at this statute; however, he did not think proper to make any noise about it, being informed that the king and parliament had resolved to stand by what they had done, and to despise his censures, in case he should have recourse to them. However, as he was not willing that his pretended right should entirely drop, he chose to seem as if he never minded the statute; but although he afterwards granted several such provisions, it was with so much caution that the abuse of them was considerably lessened throughout this whole reign. On the other hand, the king, who did not chuse to break entirely with the court of Rome, was content with leaving the statute in force, without vigorously putting it in execution. In 1348, ambassadors arrived from Germany, with offers of the imperial dignity to Edward; which honour, however, he thought proper to decline the acceptance of. Two years after, Philip king of France died, and was succeeded by his son John; and in 1354, Edward invested his son, the gallant prince of Wales, with the duchy of Guienne, and sent him thither, commanding him to renew hostilities, and, at the same time, landed himself at Calais, and ravaged Boullonois and Artois. About this time the Scots took Berwick by surprize, upon which king Edward crossed over and retook it; and caused Baliol, whom he had raised to the throne of Scotland, to make over his right to him for a yearly pension. In 1356, the prince of Wales ravaged the southern provinces of France, particular Languedoc; and in the same year defeated the army of John, king of France, at the battle of Poitiers, and took the king himself prisoner, and afterwards brought him over with him into England. This prince, whilst he was king Edward's prisoner, entered into a treaty with him, whereby he agreed to give up several provinces to the crown of England; but the parliament of France refused to ratify the treaty; upon which king Edward, in 1360, attended by the prince of Wales, and a great army, crossed over into France, and ravaged the country to the very gates of Paris. However, this did not prevent his concluding the treaty of Bretigny with the king of France the same year; which put an end to this long and bloody war, & by which several considerable provinces were ceded to the crown of England. On the conclusion of this treaty, king John returned into France; but in the year 1364, came over again into England, on a visit to king Edward, and died at London.

An end being thus put to the war in which Edward had been so long engaged, several excellent domestic regulations were made; and amongst others it was appointed, that the English language

language should be used in all law-proceedings, instead of the French or Norman, which had been in use from the time of William the Conqueror.

This was the state of affairs in England, at the period in which Wickliff began to draw upon himself the public attention. Edward the third had reigned long and prosperously, had carried his own reputation, and that of his subjects, to the highest pitch, and was now employed in making regulations for their interest and happiness.

We have been the more particular in reviewing the most remarkable occurrences of this prince's reign, as it was in some measure necessary, to throw a proper degree of light upon some subsequent transactions, which we shall have occasion to relate, or refer to, in the course of these lives. But we shall now proceed, more immediately, to the life of our Reformer.

JOHN WICKLIFF was born about the year 1324, in some part of the north of England. There is no certain account either of the particular place of his birth, or of his extraction. His parents, who designed him for the church, sent him to Queen's college in Oxford, then just founded. He did not, however, in that new-established house, meet with the advantages for study which he expected, and therefore removed to Merton college, which was then esteemed one of the most learned societies in Europe. His application to his studies in this seminary of learning was very great: he is said to have committed to memory the most abstruse parts of the works of Aristotle. His attention appears chiefly to have been engaged by the logic of that acute philosopher; in which he was so conversant that he became a most subtle disputant, and reigned in the schools unrivalled. He then proceeded to his theological studies, and made himself a master of all the niceties, and subtle distinctions, of what is commonly called school-divinity, which was well calculated to display the acuteness of his parts, and to distinguish him above his fellow-students; and which was the fashionable study of the times.

The superior penetration of Wickliff, however, soon enabled him to discover the unprofitableness of these studies. He chose, therefore, a more simple and more rational method of enquiring after truth; he took the plain text of scripture into his hands, uncorrupted by commentators & scholastic divines, and endeavour'd to discover the true and genuine sense of the sacred writings, without regarding, or implicitly assenting to, any prevailing or established system. Were this method of studying the scriptures more universally adopted, they would be in general much better understood; and a spirit of candour, charity, and mutual forbearance, would be more common amongst those who differ in sentiment. An intolerant zeal against those of a different opinion, is amongst none more common, than amongst those who take every
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thing upon trust, and believe as they are taught. Every rational Christian should build his faith upon the doctrine of Christ and his apostles only; and pay no regard to the interpretation of any man, any farther than it is agreeable to what they taught, and to truth, reason, and good sense.

Whatever attempts have been made by any man, or set of men, by whatever titles they may have been distinguished, or in whatever sect or party they may have been found, to extort an implicit assent to human creeds, and articles of faith, have been nothing but so many unwarantable usurpations over the minds and consciences of men; and are such invasions of the right of private judgment, as should ever be vigorously opposed by every consistent protestant.

By this method of investigating truth, Wickliff attained that noble freedom of thought, by which his writings were afterwards so much distinguished; and which procured him among his contemporaries, according to the fashion of the times, the title of the Evangelic Doctor. To these studies, he added that of the civil and canon law, and is said to have been well acquainted with the municipal laws of his country. As Wickliff continued thus to extend his knowledge, he encreased also in reputation; and he was respected not only as an able scholar, but as a man of piety and virtue, a sincere enquirer after truth, and a bold defender of it.

Wickliff drew upon himself the public attention in a more particular manner, by his defence of the University against the begging Friars. These religious, who first settled in Oxford in 1230, had made themselves very offensive and troublesome to the University, by setting up a different interest, aiming at a distinct jurisdiction, and fomenting feuds between the scholars and their superiors, and in many other respects; so that the University was obliged to curb and restrain them by severe statutes. By these means the foundation of an endless quarrel was laid between them. The Friars appealed to the Pope, and the scholars to the civil power; and sometimes one party prevailed, and sometimes the other; so that the cause became so general, that an opposition to the Friars was considered as a test of a student's attachment to the University.

Whilst things were in this situation, the Friars had gotten among them a notion, which they zealously propagated in Oxford, and wherever they came, that Christ was a common beggar, that his disciples were also beggars, and that begging, by their example, was an institution of the gospel.

Wickliff, who had long despised these Friars, on account of their useless and lazy lives, considered this as a fair opportunity of exposing them. He therefore drew up and published a treatise against able beggary; in which he pointed out the difference between the poverty of Christ and that of the Friars, and shewed the obligations which all Christians lay under, to labour in

in some way or other for the good of society. He also proved the Friars to be an infamous and useless set of men, who wallowed in luxury, and were so far from being objects of charity, that they were a disgrace, not to religion only, but even to human society. This piece made a great impression on the generality of the people, and also increased his reputation with the learned; as all men of sense and freedom admired the work, and applauded the spirit of the author.

The University, from this time, began to consider Wickliff as one of her principal champions; and in consequence of the reputation which he had acquired, he was soon afterwards preferred to the mastership of Baliol college. About this time, Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, having founded Canterbury hall in Oxford, established therein a warden and eleven scholars. The warden, whose name was Wodehall, was a monk, as were also three of his scholars; the rest were seculars. The archbishop who was unwilling to irritate either party, thought proper to divide his favours in this manner, Wodehall though brought from a distant monastery, interested himself immediately in the quarrel which was subsisting at Oxford; and having vexed the seculars who were incorporated with him, by all the methods in his power, he became next a public disturber, by making it his employment to raise and foment animosities in colleges, and disputes in the convocation. The archbishop, hearing of his behaviour, and finding, upon examination, that the complaint against him was justly founded, made an apology to the University for placing so troublesome a man among them, and immediately ejected both him, and the three regulars, his associates. Archbishop Islip's next care was to appoint a proper successor; and for this purpose he applied to Wickliff, whom he was very desirous of placing at the head of his new foundation. Wickliff thought proper to accept of the proposal, and was accordingly chosen warden of Canterbury hall, about the year 1365.

He did not, however, enjoy this new dignity peaceably for any continuance: He soon found himself involved in difficulties, in consequence of it. He was scarcely established in it, when archbishop Islip died, and was succeeded by Simon Langham, bishop of Ely; a prelate who had spent his life in a cloister, having been first a Monk, and afterwards an Abbot. The ejected regulars took advantage of this favourable opportunity, and made immediate application to the new archbishop, not doubting of his good-will to their order. Langham readily espoused their cause, ejected Wickliff, and the regulars, his companions, and sequestered their revenues. So manifest a piece of injustice raised a general outcry; and Wickliff's friends advised him to appeal to the Pope, who, they told him, durst not countenance such a proceeding. However, Urban V. who was then Pope, not chusing openly to interest himself on either side of the question,

tion, appointed a cardinal to hear the cause. Archbishop Langham was cited; he put in his plea; and each side accusing and answering by turns, protracted the business to a considerable length.

An affair, however, happened, whilst this matter was in agitation, which brought it to a speedy conclusion. To understand this, it will be necessary to look back to the reign of king John; who having drawn upon himself the displeasure of the papal See, had the sentence of excommunication and deposition pronounced against him, and his crown given by the Pope to the king of France. The Pope also laid an interdiction upon John's dominions, and the king of France made great preparations to invade them. King John was very far from being attached to the Roman see; however, being a tyrannical prince, and hated by his own subjects, he was terrified with the dangers that surrounded him: and therefore, to reinstate himself in the favour of the Pope, meanly resigned his crown to Pandulph, the Pope's legate. The haughty legate treated John with the utmost insolence and arrogance; and after detaining the crown two days in his own possession, restored it to him on this condition, That he and his successors should hold the kingdom of England, and lordship of Ireland, from the see of Rome, at the annual tribute of a thousand marks of silver. This tribute had been constantly paid from the time of king John to the reign of king Edward the third; and the Popes, from the time of John's resignation, seem, in many respects, to have considered England only as a conquered country. Edward had, however, for some time, thought proper to discontinue the payment of this tribute. This measure was extremely disagreeable to the court of Rome, and the Pope threatened; but Edward was a prince not easily intimidated. He called a parliament, laid the affair before them, and desired their advice; and they very speedily resolved, that king John had done an illegal thing, and had given up the rights of the nation: At the same time they advised the king not by any means to submit to the Pope; and promised, if the affair should bring on consequences, to assist him to the utmost of their power. Whilst the parliament was in this manner disputing the authority of the Roman pontiff, the clergy, and particularly the regulars, very zealously defended it, both by speaking and writing; and endeavoured to prove his undoubted right to his revenue by a variety of arguments. Amongst others, a Monk, of more than ordinary ingenuity and learning, lifted himself in this cause, and published a treatise, written with great spirit and plausibility, in defence of the Pope's claim; and his arguments met with so many advocates, that the minds of the people were kept in suspense. Wickliff's indignation was excited, at seeing so unworthy a cause defended with so much ability; he therefore undertook to oppose the Monk's book, and executed his design in so masterly a manner, that it was not only considered

sidered as unanswerable. In Wickliff's reply to the Monk's book, he maintained, amongst other things, that the Pope had no right to impose a tax upon England, which he had never conquered by force of arms, nor delivered from any tyranny; and that as to king John, how sovereign a prince soever he might be esteemed, yet his power did not extend so far, as to make his crown tributary for the sake of his own particular interests; or that if he could, yet the tribute ought not to continue longer than his life, nor pass to his successors; who had not, as he had done, murdered their nephews, and consequently ought not to be reduced to the necessity of purchasing so dear an absolution from those censures which they had never incurred. It could not be imagined, that Wickliff's behaviour in this affair, could be of any service to his suit at Rome: it manifestly was not; for a very short time after his book was published, his suit was determined against him.

It has been insinuated, by the enemies of Wickliff, that his chief motive for opposing Popery, was his resentment against the court of Rome, for determining his suit, relative to the wardenship of Canterbury hall, against him. This insinuation will however, appear to be totally void of foundation, if it be considered, that his reply to the Monk's book in defence of the Pope's right to the tribute-money, was prior to the determination of his suit. Indeed, his appearing so openly against the papal See, at the same time when he had such a cause depending at Rome, is the strongest evidence which could possibly have been given of his integrity.

Wickliff, notwithstanding the loss of his wardenship, still continued at Oxford; and his friends, about this time, procured him a benefice there. And the divinity-professor's chair falling vacant soon after this, he took a doctor's degree, and was elected into it; the university complimenting him with this both as a compensation for his loss, and a reward for his merit. This situation appears to have been very agreeable to Dr. Wickliff, as it afforded him an opportunity of throwing some light, as he imagined, upon some important subjects of religion. He was now fully convinced, by a long course of reasoning, that the Romish religion was full of errors. He was first led into this train of thinking by the loose and immoral lives of the monastic clergy; and he was confirmed in it by his researches into antiquity. It was, however, a bold undertaking, and which required the utmost caution, to oppose errors of such long standing; which had been so deeply rooted, and so widely spread. He determined, therefore, at first, to go on with the popular argument with which he had begun, and to prosecute his attack upon the monastic clergy.

In consequence of this resolution, he inveighed against them in his public lectures with great severity. He represented them as a set of men, who professed indeed to live like saints, but who

had so far degenerated from their original institution, that they were become a scandal to their founders. Men might well cry out, he said, against the decay of religion; but he could shew them from whence this decay proceeded. Whilst the preachers of religion never inculcated religious duties, but entertained the people with idle stories, and lying miracles; whilst they never enforced the necessity of a good life, but taught their hearers to put their trust in a bit of sealed parchment, and the prayers of hypocrites, it was impossible, he said, but religion must decay. Such treacherous friends did more hurt than open enemies.

Nothing can be more just than this reflection of Wickliff's, that false and injurious representations of religion do it much more disservice than the open attacks of its keenest enemies. The men of whom he speaks, at least a great number of them, had probably no desire to promote religion at all, any farther than they could render it subservient to their own private ends, and interested views. But we have the highest reason to believe, that there are many, in much later times, who really mean well, and are desirous of promoting the interests of religion, who notwithstanding, do it much injury, by the false notions which they have imbibed of it, and by the unjust and unamiable representations which they make of it. By these means they prejudice many against religion itself, and in others prevent its moral efficacy. It is always hurtful to religion, to represent it as consisting in any thing else but the sincere practice of piety and virtue. To substitute any rites or ceremonies, or modes of worship or opinion, of what kind soever, in the stead of piety of heart, and rectitude of conduct, is doing the greatest possible injury to religion, and rendering it, instead of the most valuable thing in the world, a mere foundation for superstition and enthusiasm.

Wickliff further observed, that a regard for religion was not to be expected from such men: They had nothing in view, he said, but the advancement of their own order. In every age they had made it their practice to invent and multiply such new opinions and doctrines, as suited their avaritious views: Nay, they had, in a manner, set aside Christianity, by binding men with their traditions in preference to the rule of Christ; who, it might well be supposed, left nothing useful out of his scheme. In this sensible and spirited manner, did Dr. Wickliff open the eyes of men to a number of abuses, which were before hidden in the darkness of ignorance and superstition.

Hitherto, however, he had not avowedly questioned any established doctrine of the church, contenting himself with only attempting to loosen the prejudices of the vulgar. But he now began to think of attacking some of the fundamentals of Popery. He proceeded in this design with his usual caution; he thought it sufficient at first to lead his adversaries into logical
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and metaphysical disputes, to accustom them to bear contradiction, and to hear novelties. In the seminaries of learning at that time, scarce any thing passed but learned arguments on the form of things, on the increase of time, on space, substance, and identity. In disputations of this kind, he artfully intermixed, and pushed as far as he durst, new opinions in divinity, in order to found the minds of his hearers. And at length finding that he had a considerable party in the schools, and was listened to with attention, he ventured to be more explicit, and by degrees to open himself at large.

Dr. Wickliff began with shewing the little regard which ought to be paid to the writings of the fathers after the tenth century. At that time, he said, an age of darkness and error commenced; and doctrines and opinions then took their rise, among which the honest enquirer after truth could never satisfy himself. The errors in matters of opinion which had crept into religion were the first subject of his enquiry; many of which he traced out from their earliest origin, and with great acuteness and accuracy pointed out the progress they had made, as they descended through the ages of superstition. He next proceeded to the usurpations of the court of Rome, which was a favourite topic with him, and on which he was very copious, and very warm. He insisted on these, and many other similar subjects, with a strength of reason far superior to the learning of those times, and with great freedom and spirit.

This vigorous attack upon the church of Rome, occasioned the clergy to raise a violent clamour against him; and the archbishop of Canterbury, who took the lead, determined to prosecute him with the utmost vigour. The church had, however, slept in its errors thro' so many ages, in consequence of the extreme ignorance that had been long spread over every part of Europe, that it was not prepared for an attack; heresy being now a new crime. Nevertheless, they searched records, and examined precedents; and at length, with some difficulty, Dr. Wickliff was deprived and silenced. It was a very fortunate circumstance for our Reformer, that there was in England, at this time, no law in force for the burning of heretics.

King Edward the Third was now in the decline of life; and a gloom was spread over the latter end of his reign, which sullied the brightness of the preceeding part of it. The inhabitants of Guienne had revolted against him, and he had been deprived by degrees of all his other conquests in France, except Calais. He had also lost two of his sons, Edward, the gallant prince of Wales, and Lionel, duke of Clarence. And a violent attachment which the old king had conceived for one Alice Perrers, made him do many things unworthy of his character, and which were extremely disagreeable to the nation. Edward was indeed so much impaired, both in body and mind, as to be incapable of the fatigues of government; and the administration of public

affairs was in the hands of the duke of Lancaster, commonly called John of Ghent. This prince had very free notions in religion, and at the same time very violent passions. He was an utter enemy to the exorbitant power of the clergy, which was sufficient to excite their indignation against him. And as he was rather of an arbitrary and over-bearing temper, he was by no means popular; insomuch that the parliament had even petitioned the king to remove the duke of Lancaster from about his person; with which the king thought proper for a short time to comply, though he afterwards recalled him, and intrusted him again with the management of public affairs. As the clergy hated the duke of Lancaster, their malice against him incited them to use their endeavours to encrease his unpopularity; and some of the principal ecclesiastics are said to have used very base means to blacken his character. This ill-treatment which the duke had received from the clergy, he retorted with equal spirit; he conceived a thorough and fixed dislike to the whole order; and used all the methods in his power to make them as much despised by others as they were by himself. He had heard of the attack Dr. Wickliff had made upon the church of Rome, with great pleasure, and had waited the consequences of it with much attention; and when he found that Wickliff was likely to be the sufferer, he interposed, rescued him out of the hands of his enemies, who were endeavouring to prosecute the advantage which they had gained over him, and brought him to court, took him into his confidence, and treated him with the utmost kindness. Dr. Wickliff was in this manner introduced into public life; and this introduction gave him afterwards an opportunity of signaling himself still more in the cause of truth and liberty.

The oppressions of the court of Rome were at this time severely felt; and heavily complained of; particularly the power which the pope assumed, and which hath been before alluded to, of disposing of almost all church preferments, even rectories or vicarages of any value. As the Pope contrived with these to pension his friends and favourites, who were generally foreigners, who resided abroad, and left the care of their benefices to negligent and ill-paid curates; by these means religion decayed; and the country was drained of money; and what still heightened the grievance, a body of insolent tax-gathers were set over the people, who out of the surplus of their exactions had their own fortunes to make. Parliamentary petitions, in very warm language, had been preferred to the conclave, but to little purpose; as the pontiff lent a very negligent ear to any motion which had a tendency towards the lessening of his revenue. The duke of Lancaster was resolved, if possible to obtain redress for some of these grievances. And in the first place, in order the more effectually to open the eyes of the people, he obliged all bishops to send in lists of the number and value of such preferments
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and benefices in each of their dioceses, as were in the hands of foreigners; and from these lists it appeared what prodigious sums were yearly conveyed out of the kingdom, in that way only. And a memorial was also presented to the Parliament, shewing, that by the death and translation of bishops, the Pope extorted five times the yearly revenue out of a single See, and by that means drew out of the kingdom twenty thousand marks a year; that the Pope's agents collected a sum equally large for the necessities of the holy See; that in the very year in which the memorial was presented, the Pope had laid his hands upon the first fruits of all the benefices in the kingdom; that he increased the number of the cardinals to thirty, among whom there were not above two or three well affected to England; that the Pope's avarice was worse than the plague; that in spite of the Statute of provisors, there were persons every day provided with benefices by the court of Rome, and that there was no hindering it, but by banishing all those who should dare to accept of the Pope's provisions: In short, that it was absolutely necessary to put a stop to these proceedings, unless they were willing to see England involved in a fatal state of Slavery. The next step taken was to send an embassy to the Pope, to treat of the liberties of the church of England; and at the head of this embassy were the bishop of Bangor, and Dr. Wickliff. They were met at Bruges, on the part of Rome, by the bishops of Pampe-lone and Semigaglia, and the provost of Valenza; and these agents, thoroughly practised in the policy of their court, spun out the negotiation with great subtilty and dexterity: Some historians say it continued for two years. However finding themselves hard pressed by their antagonists, and considering that it would be easier to evade a treaty when made, than not to make one in the present circumstances, they resolved at last to bring matters to a conclusion. It was accordingly agreed, that the Pope should no longer dispose of any benefices belonging to the church of England. No mention however was made of bishoprics, which was thought to be a voluntary omission in the bishop of Bangor; and this was the rather believed, because he was afterwards twice translated by the Pope's authority.

But notwithstanding that Dr. Wickliff had failed in his endeavours to serve his country by this treaty, (which was indeed never observed) he made his journey however serviceable to himself. He made good use of the opportunity which it afforded him, of diving into the real designs of the court of Rome, not in this affair only, but in all its other negotiations. He enquired into the ends which it had in view, and the means which it employed; and by repeated conversations upon these subjects, with the ambassadors, he penetrated so far into the constitution and policy of that corrupt court, that he began to think of it in a much harsher manner than he had ever yet done, and to be
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more convinced of its avarice, ambition, and iniquity. However strong his conviction had long before been of the corruptions of its ministers and doctrines, he had never before thought so badly of its designs.

Returning home filled with these sentiments, we find him in his lectures afterwards inveighing against the church of Rome with more warmth than before. The exemption of the clergy from the jurisdiction of the civil power, indulgencies, and the use of sanctuaries, were among the topics of his invective; and there are very few of the corrupt principles or practices of the Romish church, which have been detected by the writers of later ages, which his penetration had not discovered at that early period: and though his reasonings wanted that accuracy and strength which may be found in the writings of later times, yet when we consider the darkness and ignorance of the age in which he lived, and the little appearances there were of any thing like real learning, even in the public schools, we have much more reason to be amazed at that force of genius which carried him so far, than to wonder that he did not go farther.

The Pope himself was frequently the subject of his invective; and on his infallibility, usurpations, pride, avarice, and tyranny he declaimed with peculiar warmth. The epithet of Antichrist, which the Pope has had so frequently bestowed upon him in later ages, is thought by some to have been first given him by Dr. Wickliff. He would frequently inveigh against the luxury and pomp of bishops; and would ask the people, when they saw their prelates riding abroad, attended with fourscore horsemen in silver trappings, whether they perceived any resemblance between such splendor, and the simplicity of primitive bishops? It does not certainly appear where these lectures were read; but most probably at Oxford, where Dr. Wickliff appears by this time to have recovered his former station, and where he had yet a considerable party in his favour.

He was nevertheless frequently at court, where he continued to be in great favour with the duke of Lancaster. It was expected by many, that some considerable ecclesiastical preferment was intended for him; but no offer of this sort appears, whether he himself declined it, or that the duke thought an elevated station would only expose him the more to the malice of his enemies. The duke, however, took care to place him in a state of independency, by bestowing a good benefice upon him, the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire; whither he immediately repaired, and set himself conscientiously to discharge the duties of it. Dr. Wickliff was scarce settled in his parish, when his enemies, taking advantage of his retirement, commenced a fresh and vigorous prosecution against him. Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, and William Courtenay, bishop of London, were at the head of this. The primate,

Sudbury, was indeed a man of great moderation for the times he lived in ; and appears to have been brought into this prosecution against Wickliff contrary to his inclinations ; for indeed he contributed nothing towards it but the sanction of his name. But Courtenay was a fiery bigot, and full of zeal against heresy ; he therefore took the management of it upon himself ; and having procured proper letters from Rome, he cited Dr. Wickliff to appear before him on a fixed day, at St. Paul's in London.

This summons was a very unexpected one to Dr. Wickliff, who probably imagined that in the shade of retirement and obscurity he should have been sheltered from the malice of his enemies. He repaired immediately to the duke of Lancaster, to consult with him on the affair ; and that prince did what he could to avert the prosecution, but found himself unable to oppose a force, which was composed of almost the whole body of the clergy. He resolved, however, to countenance him in the most open and honourable manner ; and therefore the duke in person, accompanied by lord Percy, earl-marshal of England, who appears to have been a profelyte to the opinions of Wickliff, attended him to his trial ; and encouraged him to defend himself with boldness, by assuring him that he had nothing to fear, and that the prelates who were to try him, notwithstanding their high stations, were but ignorant and illiterate persons compared to him. When they were come to St. Paul's, they found the court sitting, and a very great croud assembled, through which the earl-marshal made use of his authority to gain an entrance. A very considerable disturbance was raised in the church, by the arrival of such personages and their attendants ; and the bishop of London, who was chagrined to see Dr. Wickliff so attended, peevishly told the earl-marshal, that if he had known before what a disturbance he would have made, he should have been stopped at the door. The duke of Lancaster espoused the earl's part ; and told the bishop, with some warmth, that the earl-marshal should execute his authority, whether he would or not. Lord Percy then desired Wickliff to sit down, saying, that he had need of a seat, for he had many things to say. To this the bishop replied, " It is unreasonable that a clergyman, cited before his ordinary, should sit during his answer: He shall stand." " My lord Percy is in the right, (said the duke of Lancaster) and for you, my lord bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant, I will take care to humble your pride; and not only your's, but that of all the prelates in England. Thou dependest upon the credit of thy relations ; but far from being able to help thee, they shall have enough to do to support themselves." To this the bishop replied, " I place no confidence either in my relations, or in any man else, but in GOD himself, in whom I ought to trust, and who will give me boldness to speak the truth." Whether

Whether the bishop added any thing to this, which more particularly irritated the duke of Lancaster, is not quite clear; however, the duke, who was greatly provoked, turned to lord Percy, and said to him in a half-whisper, that rather than take such usage from the bishop, he would pull him by the hair of his head out of the church. These words were caught up by some who stood near; and being spread among the crowd, threw the whole assembly into a ferment in an instant. There was a general cry of the people from every part of the church, that their bishop should not be so used, and that they would stand by him to their last breath. The confusion, in short, arose to such a height, that all business was at an end: The whole court was in disorder, and broke up without having taken any material step in the affair. But the tumult did not end here; for the duke of Lancaster went directly to the house of peers, and after inveighing against the riotous disposition of the Londoners, he, passionately and imprudently, preferred a bill the very same day, to deprive the city of London of its privileges, and to alter its jurisdiction. This precipitate and ill-judged step put the whole city into the utmost disorder; the heads of it met in consultation, and the populace assembled in a riot, and assaulted the houses of the duke and the earl-marshal, who both left the city with precipitation, their lives being in the utmost danger from the fury of the people. These tumults, however, which continued for some time, were in some degree serviceable to Wickliff, as they put a stop, for the present, to all further proceedings against him.

Shortly after this transaction king Edward the Third died at Richmond, deserted in his last moments by all his courtiers, by his favourite Alice Pierce, and even by his chaplains; a striking example of the vanity and uncertainty of human greatness! He was succeeded by his grandson, Richard the Second, son to the celebrated Black Prince; who being only eleven years of age at his accession, the first business of the parliament was to appoint a regency. The duke of Lancaster aspired to be sole regent; but the parliament, who apprehended much from his violence of temper, and unpopular maxims of government, thought proper to order it otherwise; for they appointed the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Cambridge, and Thomas of Woodstock, afterwards duke of Gloucester, the king's three uncles, together with several bishops and temporal lords, joint-regents; so that the duke of Lancaster had only one voice in the management of affairs.

This declension of the duke's power encouraged the bishops to commence afresh their persecutions against Dr. Wickliff. Articles of accusation were immediately drawn up, and dispatched to Rome; and the Pope engaged in this affair with the utmost readiness and alacrity; as appears evidently from his sending on this occasion no less than five bulls into England; three of which

which were directed to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, one to the university of Oxford, and another to the king. The zeal of the holy father was, no doubt, greatly augmented, by the consideration of the unfavourable tendency of the tenets of Wickliff, with respect to the revenues of the papal See. With those bulls to the bishops, the Pope sent a copy of the heretical articles; requiring those prelates to inform themselves, whether Wickliff really held the doctrines contained therein; and immediately to imprison him, if he did so; or if they failed in that, to cite him personally to make his appearance within three months at Rome. He also enjoined the bishops to represent to king Richard and the council, that Wickliff's errors were not only dangerous to the church, but likewise to the state. The Pope had very little doubt of the success of these bulls, as the papal See had never been accustomed to contradiction; for however despotic and unreasonable its commands, it had been customary for the greatest monarchs to obey them in the most implicit and submissive manner. But a new scene of things was now opening, and a more liberal spirit began to prevail; to which the preaching of Wickliff had already greatly contributed. The imperious pontiff must have been very sensibly mortified at the neglect with which, on this occasion, he was treated. The university of Oxford even deliberated whether it should receive his bull; and, by what appears, it did not. And the regency were so far from being disposed to shew him any reverence, that at this very time they joined with the parliament in giving a very public and signal instance of their confidence in, and esteem for Dr. Wickliff; as if it was their design to make their contempt for the Roman pontiff as notorious as possible. The French, on the death of king Edward, resolved to take the advantage of the minority of Richard; accordingly the French king, Charles the Fifth, had soon five armies in the field, and likewise a strong fleet, which he had sent out with orders to go and infect the coasts of England. And as the country was now very far from being in a posture of defence, all the money which could be raised was wanted, in order to enable the regency to oppose these formidable preparations of the French. The parliament being in deliberation about the means, it was debated in the house, whether the money collected in England for the use of the Pope, might not, upon an emergency, be employed for the service of the nation; and as they all agreed upon the expediency of this measure, the only point to be settled was the legality of it. It was at length agreed, both by the regency and the parliament, to put the question to Dr. Wickliff; who for such a question was certainly the most excellent casuist they could any where have met with. Accordingly Wickliff very readily gave it as his opinion, that they might very conscientiously make free with the Pope's money. Indeed there was the utmost necessity for

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taking the most vigorous measures for the defence of the kingdom; for the French had already made descents in several places, and burnt Hastings, Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth; and defeated some troops which were drawn together to prevent their ravages. They were repulsed at Winchester; but they landed on the Isle of Wight, pillaged the inhabitants, and after having in vain attempted to take Carisbrook castle, went off with their booty.

But notwithstanding the regard which was shewn to Dr. Wickliff by the regency and parliament, and however disrespectful the treatment might be which the Pope's bulls received from the king and the university, the bishops made ample amends by their abundant zeal. The bishop of London, Courtenay, particularly, not only complied with the letter of the pontiff's mandate, but entered into all the spirit of it. But he was somewhat stopped in his career, when he had taken only the first step in this affair, by receiving a peremptory order from the duke of Lancaster, not to proceed to imprisonment. The duke told him, that to imprison a man for holding an *opinion*, could not be justified by the laws of England; and that therefore he took the liberty of informing him, that if he proceeded to any such extremity, he must take the consequences. The prelate was alarmed at this menace, and dropped the design of an imprisonment, contenting himself with citing Wickliff to appear before a provincial synod in the chapel at Lambeth on a fixed day; and at the same time sent him a copy of the articles which had been objected to, of which he desired an explanation. (b)

Dr. Wickliff appeared on the appointed day, and being questioned about the articles, he delivered in a paper, explaining the sense in which he held them. If the explanation which is now handed down to us, as that which Wickliff used on this occasion, be

(b) Among other articles exhibited against Wickliff were the following:

I. That he had maintained, that God could not transfer perpetual dominion to one man, and to his heirs.

II. If there is a God, temporal lords may lawfully take away the temporals from an offending church.

III. A man cannot be excommunicated, unless he is first excommunicated by himself.

IV. No power is given by Christ to excommunicate persons, especially not for the subtraction of temporal dues; but rather on the contrary.

V. 'Tis impossible even in the nature of God, to grant that the Pope, or any other person, who pre-

tend to bind or loose, should by that very act, bind or loose.

VI. We ought to believe, that he only binds and looses while he conforms himself to the law of Christ.

VII. If a temporal lord knows that the church does offend, he is obliged under pain of damnation to take away her temporals.

To these particular articles Wickliff is said to have given the following explanatory answer:

I. That as to what he said concerning PERPETUAL DOMINION, he meant, That the church could not establish any perpetual political dominion for ever; nor that the *saity* could establish a perpetual civil power;

be genuine, it must be owned that the Reformer did not behave, on this occasion, with that sincerity and manly freedom, which for the honour of his character we could have wished; as he seems, with much art and subtilty to have endeavoured to explain away some of the opinions which he had advanced. It is however certain, that the authenticity of this explanation may justly be questioned, as it is conveyed down to us solely through the channel of Popish writers; many of whom have taken great pains, and used very unfair methods, to blacken Wickliff's character. But however cautiously worded this answer of Wickliff to the charge brought against him might be, it was by no means satisfactory to the bishops. And when they were in the midst of their deliberations upon this, the people both within and without doors grew very tumultuous, and cried aloud, that they would suffer no violence to be done to Wickliff. At this very juncture Sir Lewis Clifford, a gentleman about the court, and well known to many who were present, entered the chapel, and in an authoritative manner forbid the bishops to proceed to any definitive sentence, and retired. This is said to have intimidated the prelates, who, though they knew not from whence this order came, took it for granted that Clifford durst not have acted thus of his own head. The perplexity of the bishops was also heightened by the tumult at the door, which continued to increase; so that at length they dissolved the assembly, having forbidden Dr. Wickliff to preach any more those doctrines which had been objected to him. But to this prohibition he appears to have paid very little regard; for we are informed, that he went about bare-footed, in a long

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power; nor could God himself be the author of any such power, because he had promised a dissolution of the empire of this world, and another more heavenly one to commence in its stead.

II. Whereas he said, if there is a God, temporal lords may lawfully take away the temporals from an offending church, the proposition meant no more, than, that God might command those temporal lords to punish the church with a forfeiture of her temporals.

III. That by saying, A man could not be excommunicated unless he was first excommunicated by himself, he meant no more, than that excommunication could not take effect, cleve errants; but there must be some previous crime in the offender, which must draw down that sentence upon him;

IV. He did not deny absolutely the lawfulness of excommunication for civil rights; but he denied that they ought purely to be the motive of sending people to hell; but the cause of God must in some measure be affected, before such a sentence ought to be passed upon him.

V. and VI. By saying, We ought to believe he only binds and looses while he conforms himself to the law of Christ, he only meant, That he ought in his censure to have the rules of the Gospel and of Christianity in his eye.

VII. That kings were obliged to take away temporals from those clergy who abused them; he meant no more, than that the civil power might punish ecclesiastical persons.

frize gown, preaching every where occasionally to the people, and without any reserve in his own parish.

About the year 1378, there happened to be a very considerable schism in the Catholic church. Some diffension arising between Pope Urban VI. and the cardinals, the latter thought proper to dispute the validity of Urban's election, and to elect a new Pope; who took upon himself the title of Clement VII. This schism divided all Europe, each state declaring for one or other of the two Popes, more from reasons of state, than from any consideration of the right of the contending parties. France, whose interest it was that the Pope should reside at Avignon, sided with Clement; and, for a contrary reason, England thought it more advantageous to adhere to the Pope of Rome. Thus, by the different powers of Europe taking different sides in this contest, deluges of blood were shed, in order to determine which of these two infallible gentlemen had the most right to St. Peter's chair. Dr. Wickliff considered this schism as a new argument against Popery, and used it as such. He published a tract against the schism of the Roman pontiffs, in which he shewed what little credit was due to either of the contending parties; and as this tract was read with eagerness by people of all ranks, it contributed very much to open the eyes of the common people.

Towards the end of the year 1378, Dr. Wickliff was seized with a violent distemper, which it was apprehended might prove fatal to him. On this occasion, it is said, he was waited upon by a very extraordinary deputation from the begging Friars, whom he had formerly attacked with so much severity; who sent four of their order, accompanied by four of the most eminent citizens of Oxford, to attend him; and having gained admittance to his bed-chamber, they acquainted him, that hearing he lay at the point of death, they were come, in the name of their order, to remind him of the many injuries which he had done them; and hoped, for his soul's sake, that he would do them all the justice now in his power, by retracting, in the presence of those respectable persons, the many severe and unjust things he had said of them. Wickliff, who was surprized at this solemn message, raised himself in his bed; and with a stern countenance, it is said, cried out, "I shall not die; but live 'to declare the evil deeds of the Friars.'" At this the Friars were driven away in confusion, struck with the sternness of his manner, and the unexpected force of his expression.

Dr. Wickliff did recover from his indisposition; and soon after begun a work, which he had long intended, the translation of the scriptures into English; for he had ever considered the locking up the Bible from the people as one of the principal errors of Popery, and of the most dangerous tendency. But before his translation appeared, he published a tract, in which he shewed the necessity of freeing the scriptures from the bondage they

they lay under, with great force of argument. The Bible, he affirmed, contained the whole of God's will. Christ's law, he said, was sufficient to guide his church; and every Christian might there attain knowledge sufficient to make him acceptable to God; And as to comments, he said, a good life was the best guide to the knowledge of scripture; or, in his own language, "He that keepeth righteousness, hath the true understanding of holy writ." When he apprehended these arguments to be sufficiently digested, his translation made its public appearance, much to the satisfaction of all judicious men.

Dr. Wickliff is generally thought to have been the first who translated the bible into English; others might probably have given detached parts of it, but he only appears to have given an entire translation of the whole. (c) It does not appear that Wickliff understood the Hebrew language: His method seems to have been, to collect what Latin bibles he could meet with, and from them make one correct copy, and translate from that. He afterwards examined the best commentators then extant, and from them inserted in his margin those passages in which the Latin differed from the Hebrew. The other writings of Wickliff were remarkably elegant, in point of language, for the times in which he lived; but his translation of the bible appears to have been literally exact; indeed rather too much so; for his scrupulous adherence to the literal sense sometimes led him into manifest improprieties.

The publication of this work had not the least tendency to re-establish Wickliff in the good opinion of his ecclesiastical brethren: On the contrary, an universal clamour was immediately raised against it. And after much consultation among the bishops, and heads of the clergy, a bill was brought into parliament to suppress Wickliff's bible; and the advocates for it set forth the alarming prospect of heresy, which this version of the scriptures opened, and the ruin of all religion which must inevitably ensue. The arguments, however, which were urged by Wickliff and his friends, in defence of the utility of an English version of the scriptures, were so strong, that they silenced all opposition; and the bill was accordingly thrown out by a great majority.

We need be at no loss to investigate the reasons why the Roman Catholic priests have been at all times so extremely desirous of keeping the laity in general from the perusal of the scriptures: They are indeed sufficiently apparent. There is so little foundation in the sacred writings, for the absurd and superstitious doctrines which they instil into their deluded followers, and of which they make so much iniquitous gain, that they must

(c) Rapin says, that John de the reign of Edward the Third, Trevisa, a Cornishman, who lived in translated the bible into English.

must be very conscious they will not stand the test of examination. The declaration of our Saviour, on another occasion, may be applied to them in this respect with the utmost truth : *They love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.* Nothing can be more dangerous to the pretended authority of the papal See, than the free and impartial study of the scriptures. Christianity itself affords not the least real ground for any priestcraft whatever, and much less for that accumulated system of it, which is exhibited in the Roman Catholic church. The clergy of Wickliff's days had, therefore, reason to be alarmed at the publication of the bible in the vulgar tongue : Their fears respecting the consequences of it were justly founded ; for it had a natural tendency to endanger, in the greatest degree, what the greater number of them considered as the most substantial and important part of religion, the revenues of the church.

Before the clamour which was raised against Wickliff, on account of the publication of his bible, was in any degree silenced, he ventured to go a step further, by attacking the favourite doctrine of the Romish church, Transubstantiation, (d) which he did with great spirit and with great freedom ; being, after a thorough examination, satisfied that it had no scriptural foundation. In his lectures before the university of Oxford, in 1381, which he appears still to have continued every summer as divinity professor, he undertook to confute this error, and to explain the real design of the Lord's supper. He endeavoured chiefly to establish, that the substance of the bread and wine in the Lord's supper, remained the same after consecration ; and that the body and blood of Christ were not substantially in them, but only figuratively. He offered to defend these conclusions publicly in the schools ; but the religious, who had now gained ground in the university, would not suffer any question of

(d) It was not till 820 years after Christ, that the strange doctrine of Transubstantiation was heard of. It owed its birth to Paschale Radbert, a wild enthusiast, who published it, not as falsehood generally gains ground, by little and little ; but at once, glaring in its full absurdity. He informed the world, in plain language, that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the elements after consecration are entirely changed into the body and blood of Christ ; that very body, which was born of Mary, suffered upon the cross, and rose from the dead. It is amazing, that an opinion so big with absurdity, and yet unaided by prejudice, could fasten the minds of men, however

taste, we find, went down, as if the greater the improbability, the more venerable the mystery. It was found a doctrine well adapted to impress the people with that awful and superstitious horror, which is the necessary foundation of false religion : As such therefore the church of Rome with great zeal upheld it ; and if any were staggered by the appearance of an impossibility, they were presently told, that, " The accidents, or forms of bread and wine, it was true, still remained after consecration ; but by the omnipotence of God they remained without a subject." This was the argument of the clergy ; and it was thought conclusive, for who could doubt the omnipotence of God ?

of this kind to be debated; for they were extremely unwilling to submit so important a doctrine as that of transubstantiation, and which they could so well defend by the authority of the church, to the hazardous test of reason and examination. Dr. Wickliff, however, without further ceremony, published a confutation of the doctrine, in a professed treatise upon the subject.

Dr. Barton was at this time vice-chancellor of Oxford, a great enemy to heresy, and no friend to Wickliff, of whom he always spoke with great bitterness. He, therefore, laid hold of this opportunity of persecuting him with much pleasure: He called together the heads of the university, and finding he could influence a majority, obtained a decree by which the doctrine of Wickliff was condemned as heretical; and himself and his hearers threatened, if they persisted in their errors, with imprisonment and excommunication. Wickliff was extremely mortified to find himself thus treated at Oxford; which, till this time, had been his sanctuary. However, he resolved to fly for protection to his generous friend the duke of Lancaster; and, in hopes of his interest, to appeal to the king from the vice-chancellor's sentence. But even this resource failed him; for his appeal met with no countenance: The duke, who found his credit declining, and probably supposed his attachment to Wickliff might be one of the causes, did now, for the first time, desert him; and when Wickliff pressed this prince with religious motives, to induce him to interest himself on his behalf, he answered him coolly, that of these things the church was the most proper judge, and that the best advice he could give him, was to quit these novelties, and submit quietly to his ordinary. Wickliff, thus exposed to the persecutions of his adversaries, had no other remedy, but, conscious of his own integrity, to meet the storm with all the fortitude he was master of. It was a circumstance very unfavourable to Wickliff, that Courtenay, who had been his most active enemy, when bishop of London, was now promoted to the See of Canterbury, in the room of archbishop Sudbury, who had been beheaded by the rebels under Wat Tyler. Courtenay very much approved what the vice-chancellor of Oxford had done, and therefore resolved to go on vigorously with the prosecution. The superstition of the new primate, however, afforded Wickliff some respite; for he was so scrupulous in matters of form, that he would not enter upon the public exercise of his office, till he should receive the consecrated pall from Rome, which did not arrive till the May of the next year, 1382; and then, being duly invested, he cited Wickliff to appear before him in the monastery of the Grey Friars, on the 17th day of the same month; so eager was the pious and conscientious bishop to enter upon this business! Dr. Wickliff being thus cited before the archbishop, refused to appear; alledging, that as he was a member of the university,

university, and held an office in it, he was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. Fortunately for Wickliff, the university was now under a different influence than it had lately been ; for the vice-chancellor was changed, and the determination of the majority was to support their member. With this plea, therefore, the archbishop was obliged to remain satisfied. But though he could not proceed against the person of Wickliff, he resolved nevertheless to proceed against his opinions ; and accordingly when the court met on the day appointed, a large collection of articles, extracted from his books and sermons, was produced. At the instant, it is said, that the court was about to enter upon business, the monastery was shaken by a violent earthquake. The affrighted bishops threw down their papers, and cried out, that the business was displeasing to God ; and hastily came to a resolution not to proceed any farther. The archbishop alone continued unmoved ; he chid their superstitious fears, and told them, among other things, that if the earthquake portended any thing, it was the downfall of heresy. This speech, together with the news that the earthquake had been general, dispelled their fears. Dr. Wickliff would often speak pleasantly of this accident ; and would call this assembly, *The Council of the Herrydens* ; HERRYDENE being the old English word for earthquake. The court being again composed, entered warmly into the business ; and, after examining all the articles, came to a determination, that some of them were erroneous, and some plainly heretical. This determination, which was afterwards published, was answered by Dr. Wickliff ; who shewed how much his enemies had in several points misrepresented him ; and defended his tenets with such a spirit of truth and freedom, that he gained many over to his party.

The archbishop took fresh offence at this audacity, as he called it, of Wickliff ; and being determined, if possible, to crush him, preferred a bill in parliament to enable sheriffs, upon proper information from bishops, to proceed as far as imprisonment against the preachers of heresy. This bill passed the lords, but was thrown out by the commons, who were by no means disposed to increase the power of the clergy. The archbishop thus baulked, applied to the king for his licence for the same purpose, which he imagined might serve instead of an act of parliament. Richard thought proper to agree to the primate's request, and immediately orders letters patent to be made out, which granted the full powers that he required. These unlimited powers were extremely disagreeable to the whole nation ; and therefore when the parliament met, which it did soon after, heavy complaints came from every county to their representatives, setting forth how much the people thought themselves aggrieved by them. The members of the house of commons interested themselves in this affair, with that warmth which became Englishmen, and freemen, on such an occasion. " These

" new

“ new powers, it was said, were dangerous encroachments.---
 “ If the liberties of the people were thus put into the hands of
 “ the clergy, the nation became subject to a new kind of
 “ despotism.—*Heresy* was an unlimited word, and might
 “ bear as wide a construction as a bishop might chuse to give it:
 “ Nor could it be doubted, but it would often be made to fig-
 “ nify whatever the pride or avarice of the clergy might think
 “ expedient.” Filled with these sentiments, the commons peti-
 tioned the king against the licence which he had granted; and
 Richard, agreeable to the unsteadiness of his character, now re-
 voked that licence to oblige the laity, which he had before
 granted to oblige the clergy.

Thus was the zeal of the archbishop baffled a second time; but in another point he had better success; for he obtained letters from the king to the vice-chancellor, and proctors of the university of Oxford, requiring them to make diligent search in their colleges and halls for all who maintained heretical opinions; particularly those condemned by the archbishop of Canterbury; and for all who had in their possession the books of John Wickliff. Delinquents of this kind were ordered to be expelled the university; and the sheriff and mayor of Oxford were commanded to assist the academical magistrates in the execution of this order. The primate himself also wrote to the vice-chancellor, to enjoin him to publish in St. Mary's church the king's letter, and also those articles of the doctrine of Wickliff which had been condemned. The vice-chancellor answered, that such a publication would be very dangerous to himself, and also endanger the peace of the university; as party at this time ran very high in Oxford, where the seculars, who generally favoured Wickliff, bore a principal sway. The zealous archbishop, in answer to this, called him before the council, where he was vexed and interrogated with so much of the insolence of authority, that he was brought to compliance, and every thing was published in the manner the primate required. The fears of the vice-chancellor were however justly founded; for the secular clergy were so violently incensed against the religious, that the university was filled with tumult and disorder, and all study was at an end: And the animosities of the two parties were carried to such an height, that they distinguished themselves by badges, and were with difficulty restrained from breaking out into the most outrageous violence.

It does not appear, that Wickliff was after these proceedings brought to any public examination. He probably retired from the storm; for it is certain that at this time he quitted the professor's chair, and took his final leave of the university of Oxford, which till now he seems to have yearly visited. Thus the unwaried persecution of the bigotted primate did so far prevail, as to oblige Wickliff to retreat from the university to his living of Lutterworth. It was, however, by no means in his

power to make a complete extirpation of heresy; for the opinions of Wickliff had been so universally spread over the nation, that a writer of those times tells us, that if you met two persons upon the road, you might be sure that one of them was a Lollard, or *follower of Wickliff*.

Whilst these things were transacting in England, the dissension between the two Popes continued. Pope Urban had published a bull, in which he called upon all those who had any regard for religion, to exert themselves in its defence, by taking up arms for him against Clement and his adherents; and promising, for the encouragement of the faithful, the same pardon and indulgences which had been always granted to those who lost their lives in the holy wars. This bull met with considerable encouragement in England, on account of Urban's having chosen an English ecclesiastic for his general. This was Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich; who is described by Fox, as "a young and stout prelate, fitter for the camping cure, than for the peaceable church of Christ." And this reverend warrior having obtained an aid from the English parliament, and made his levies, set out upon his expedition, full of ardour, and of holy zeal. A war, in which the name of religion was thus prostituted, roused the indignation of Dr. Wickliff, though now in the decline of life. He once more, therefore, took up his pen, and wrote against it with great spirit. In a very free manner he expostulated with the Pope, and boldly asked him, "How he durst make the token of Christ on the cross, (which is a token of peace, mercy, and charity,) a banner to lead on to slay Christian men, for the love of two false priests? and to oppress Christendom, worse than Christ and his apostles were oppressed by the Jews. When (said he) will the proud priest of Rome grant indulgences to mankind to live in peace and charity, as he now does to fight and slay one another?" This severe and spirited piece drew upon Dr. Wickliff the resentment of Urban, and might probably have involved him in greater troubles than he had hitherto experienced: But soon after the publication of this treatise, he was struck with a palsy; and though he lived some time, yet it was in such a way that his enemies now thought him below their resentment. He attended divine worship to the last; and received the fatal stroke of his disorder in his church at Lutterworth, in the year 1384.

Thus ended the life of John Wickliff; who, for his superior penetration, the justness of his sentiments, and the undaunted spirit with which he engaged in the great cause of religious liberty, was a real honour to his country. Wickliff appears to have been a man of exemplary piety, and unblemished morals; and notwithstanding the number and vigilance of his enemies, they have none of them presumed to tax him with any immoralities. But though in his private character he appears to have been very respectable, yet it is his public character which principally

cipally entitles him to our attention and regard. In an age of ignorance and superstition, he let in such a radiance of light, that all the arts of the Romish church, and all the terrors of persecution, could never afterwards totally obscure it. And the propagation of his opinions had certainly the happiest effect in promoting that reformation, which afterwards delivered this kingdom from ignorance, superstition, and ecclesiastical tyranny. By every true protestant, therefore, the memory of Wickliff will ever be held in the highest honour. And the example of those illustrious men, who have nobly and fearlessly laboured in the cause of truth and liberty, ought to animate us to exert ourselves to prevent any attempts which may be made, by the zealous and indefatigable adherents of Popery, to involve us once more in the darkness and bondage of Romish superstition.

Having thus concluded the life of this celebrated Reformer, it may not be improper to give a more particular account of his opinions, than could pertinently be introduced into the course of this narration.

The following is a summary of his principal opinions, collected either from his own words, or fairly deduced from them. With respect to the *church*, he did not approve of applying the words *church* and *churchmen* merely to the clergy, who were frequently men of bad lives, and therefore he thought such application a vile prostitution of those sacred names. Besides, he thought this had a bad influence upon the laity, as it seemed to exclude them from the pale of Christ's church, and to give them a dispensation for licentious practice. If they were not of Christ's church, they were not under Christ's laws. He would therefore never have any idea fixed to the word *church*, but that of the whole body of Christians.——It would be very serviceable to the cause of Christianity, if Christians in general would espouse Wickliff's idea of the church of Christ in its most enlarged sense; as comprehending, not only the clergy and laity of any particular communion, but the sincerely pious and virtuous in every denomination of Christians: If instead of being fond of considering themselves as Churchmen, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, or by any other discriminating title, they would consider all who believe in Christ, and endeavour to regulate their lives by his precepts, as fellow Christians, as members of the same church, and disciples of the same common Lord.

Wickliff was a warm assertor of the king's supremacy; to prove which, he reasoned in this manner. Under the old law, we read that Solomon deposed one high priest, and ordained another, by his own proper authority, without the concurrence of any ecclesiastical synod; and in the New Testament, though we meet with no express command on the point of the king's supremacy, yet in general we are told that magistrates are or-

dained of God to punish evil doers, and that without any limitation. If then they are ordained to punish evil doers, certainly they are, in the highest degree, bound to punish those who do the most evil : And who will contend, that the wicked priest is not a worse citizen, than the wicked layman ? Christ (says he) and his apostles were obedient to the temporal powers then existing : And not to mention the many precepts of the gospel-writers on this subject, which seem to be generally directed to all Christians ; we see, in one place, our Saviour himself paying tribute to the emperor ; and in another, answering before Pilate without claiming any exemption. He was very warm against those who maintained the Pope's supremacy to be an article of faith. The saving faith of a Christian (says he) consists in believing that Christ was the Messiah : But the Roman church has multiplied articles of faith without number. It is not enough now to believe in Christ ; we must believe in the Pope of Rome. (d) The holy apostles never ascribed to themselves any such honour : How then can a sinful wretch require it, who knows not whether he shall be damned or saved ? If the Pope (says he) should happen to be a wicked man, we profess it as an article of our belief, that a devil of hell is head of the church ; that he is the most holy father, infallible, and without sin, who poisons the principles of the church, and corrupts its practice, who contributes what he is able to banish out of it faith, meekness, patience, charity, humility, and ever other virtue of a Christian.

Wickliff was likewise a strenuous opposer of the authority claimed by the Romish church in matters of faith. It was a scandal, he would say, to the Christian church, that any of its members

(d) Mr. Guthrie, in his history of England, observes, that ' by Wickliff's own belief, still extant in the Bodleian library, he alibws the Pope an amending power, even in matters of faith ; nay, he supposes that the Pope is, of all men on earth, the most bound to preserve the purity of the gospel, because he is the highest vicar of Christ upon earth.' The extract from this creed mentioned by Mr. Guthrie, and quoted by him, is here given, that the reader may be enabled to judge for himself, whether Mr. Guthrie's conclusions can fairly be inferred from it. And perhaps the attentive reader will be of opinion, that Wickliff does not in this affirm any thing of himself with respect to the Pope's power of amending articles of faith ; but rather admits it, for argument's sake, (it being a point insisted on by his ad-

versaries,) in order to introduce what follows. Wickliff's words are : ' I have joyfully to telle all trew men, the believe that I hold, and algatis to the Pope ; for I suppose that if any faith be rightful, and given of God, the Pope will gladly conserve it ; and if my faith be error, the Pope will wisely amend it. I suppose over this, that the gospel of Christ be part of the corps of God's lawe. For I believe that Jesu Christ, that gaf in his own person this gospel, is very God, and very mon, and be this bit passës all other lawes. I suppose over this, that the Pope be most oblished to the keeping of the gospel among all men that liven here ; for the Pope is highest vicar that Christ has here on earth ; for moreness of Christ's vicars is not measured by worldly moreness, but by this, that this

members should set up their own authority against that of their Saviour. The great argument which was then used by the defenders of the authority of the church, was this: Many persons, besides Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, wrote gospels; but the church rejected them all, excepting these four; and this it did by its own proper authority. It might by the same authority have rejected those four gospels, and have received others. It follows therefore, that the authority of the church is above that of any gospel.—To this artful reasoning Wickliff replied, that the evidence for the received gospels was so strong, and that for the rejected ones so weak, that the church could not have done otherwise than it did, without doing violence to reason. But the best argument, he said, if it were proper to avow it,

‘ this vicar sees more Christ by virtuous living. For thus teaches the gospel; that this is the sentence of Christ, and of his gospel, I take as believe. That Christ, for time that he walked here, was most poore mon of alle, both in spirit and in having; for Christ says, that he had noht for to rest his hede on. And over this I take as believe, that no mon schold sue the Pope, ne na feint that now is in hevene, bot in alsmyche as he sued Christ; for John and James errijd, and Peter and Powl sinned. Of this I take as holesome counseile that the Pope leewe his worldly lordship to worldly lords, as Christ gaf him; and more speedily all his clerks to do so; For thus did Christ, and taught thus his disciplis till the sende had blynded this world; And if I erre in this sentence, I will mekely be amended, hif by the deth, hif it be shilful, for that I hope were gode to me: And if I might travail in my own persoun, I wold, with God’s wille, goe to the Pope. Bot has needid me to the contrary, and taught me more obeishe to God than to mon. And I suppose of our Pope that he will not be Antichrist, & reverse Christ, in this working to the contrary of Christ’s will. For if he summons ageyns resoun by him, or any of his, or pursue this unskillful sumoning, he is an open Antichrist; and merciful entent excusid not Peter that ne Christ clepid him Sathanas. So blynd entent and wicked conseil excuses not the

‘ Pope here: But if he aske of trow prentis, that they travel more than they may, he is not excused by resoun of God, that ne he is Antichrist. For our believe teaches us, that our blessed God suffris us not to be temptyd more than we may; how schuld a mon aske such service? And therefore pray we to God for our Pope Urban the sex, that his holly entent be not quenched by his enemys, and Christ, that may not lye, seis that the enemies of a mon be especially his homely meinth; and this the of men and fendis. Wickliff, at the beginning of this says, indeed, that he supposeth that if his faith was rightful, and given of God, the Pope would gladly conserve it; and if eroneous, that he would wisely amend it. But he does not appear to intimate, that he should think himself obliged to assent to the Pope’s determination, any farther than it appeared to him to be agreeable to truth and scripture. This, indeed, Mr. Guthrie partly admits, by saying, that ‘ it is true Wickliff thinks, that even in the quality of Christ’s vicar, no person ought to follow the Pope, nor any saint in heaven, any farther than he followed Jesus Christ.’ It is certain, that Wickliff here manifestly censures the Pope for the temporal power he had assumed; and this hints he has given of the Pope’s becoming an open Antichrist, do not agree with any very high idea of him; and indeed that he had not any such, is manifest from all his other writings.

it, for supporting the authority of the church, was the necessity of that doctrine to support the tyranny of the Pope. This was what made it worth defending at the expence of truth.—In another place, speaking on the same subject, he says, that the Pope would not submit his actions to the same criterion, by which Christ was contented to have his actions tried. If I do not, says Christ, the works of my Father which is in heaven, believe me not. But the Pope's authority, it seems, must be acknowledged, though he manifestly does the works of the devil. Thus, says he, Christians are in greater thralldom than the Jews under the old law; and that liberty, by which Christ has made us free, is by the wickedness of designing men changed into the most absolute spiritual bondage. The days, says he, I hope, will come, when men shall be wise enough to shake from their necks the dominion of these human ordinances; and disdain submission to any ecclesiastical injunctions, but such as are plainly authorized by the word of God.—It would have been well if the church of Rome, in this unjust and absurd claim to infallibility, and authority over the minds and consciences of men, which is here so justly opposed by Wickliff, as it hath often since been by later Protestant writers, had not been too much imitated by many among Protestants themselves; many of whom, at the same time that they disclaim in words all pretensions to infallibility, are too apt to cast the imputation of *heresy* on all those whose speculative opinions do not square exactly with their own.

Wickliff acknowledged seven sacraments; but is very inaccurate in his definition of a sacrament, which he calls *A token that may be seen of a thing that may not be seen*. This vague idea of a sacrament appears to have been universal among the writers in divinity, both before and after his time. But though he acknowledged seven sacraments, he expressly says, he does not esteem them all necessary to salvation; and inveighs warmly against the many idle ceremonies used by the church of Rome, in the administration of them all; ceremonies, he says, which have no use in themselves, nor any foundation in scripture. When ceremonies are few and expressive, he thought they might be of use; and enumerates, among others, kneeling and beating the breast in prayer.

Baptism he thought necessary to salvation; which opinion he grounded upon this expression: *Except a man be born of water, and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God*. But he opposed the superstition of three immersions; and in case of necessity, he thought any one present might baptize. The priest, he said, in baptism, (as indeed in all the other sacraments) administered only the token or sign; but God, who is the priest and bishop of our souls, administered the spiritual grace.—Some account has already been given of his opinion of the sacrament of the Lord's supper; but though it appears from the account

account given of his creed in this point, that he thought bread and wine only signs of Christ's body ; yet in other parts of his writings he speaks of them in a much higher strain. The truth appears to be, that he was late in settling his notions of this subject ; and therefore, in different parts of his writings, he contradicts himself. " I have looked (says Melancthon) into Wickliff, and find him very confused in this controversy of the " Lord's supper."

With regard to *confirmation*, he thought the oil, and the veil made use of by the bishop, had no foundation in scripture, and were better omitted ; and that the other ceremonies, together with all the parade and pomp which accompany this sacrament were still worse ; tending only to fix the minds of the people upon trifles, and to impress on them a superstitious veneration for the clergy. He could see no reason why the priest might not confirm, as well as baptize ; baptism, he said, must be allowed to be the sacrament of greater dignity, inasmuch as it is of more authentic gospel institution. — Speaking of *matrimony*, he inveighs warmly against granting divorces on slight occasions, as was customary in the church of Rome ; and says, that a divorce can be justified on no cause, but that of adultery. It does not appear that he saw any thing unscriptural in *extreme unction* ; but only blamed the exorbitant fees which the avarice of the priests of those times exacted for the performance of it. Speaking likewise of *orders*, he inveighs against the same avarice ; and jocosely says, a man might have a barber to attend him a whole year for what he pays to have his crown shaven once. With regard to *confession*, his opinion was, that if a man be really contrite, external confession is by no means of absolute necessity ; yet as it may be a means to bring on repentance, he would not reject it, if a proper choice be made of a confessor. But as confession was practised in the church of Rome, he thought it a vile and scandalous method of getting into the secrets of families, and tended only to advance the power of the church. *Penance*, he said, had no sort of merit in God's sight, unless followed by a reformed life. *Absolution*, as practised in the church of Rome, he warmly opposed. It was the height of blasphemy, he said, to ascribe to man the power of God. *Who can forgive sins, but God alone ?* Instead of acting as God's ministers, the Romish clergy, he said, took upon them, in their own names, to forgive sins. Nay, in the plenitude of their power, they will do, says he, what God himself (if there is truth in scripture) will not do, pardon unrepented sin. Express passages of scripture in favour of the contrite heart are nothing : God's absolution is of no effect, unless confirmed by theirs. Presumptuous guides, says he ; they ought to urge the necessity of repentance, instead of absolution ; and preach a future state of rewards and punishments, the deformity of sin, and the mercy of God, instead of deceiving mankind by their ridiculous impostures.

He

He was very severe against *indulgences*. He called them a mere trick to rob men of their money. The Pope, say he, has the surplus of the merits of pious saints to dispose of. A profitable doctrine this ; but where found ? certainly not in scripture. For my own part, says he, I meet not in the whole New Testament with one saint, who had more merit than was necessary for his own salvation. And if Christ, who taught all that was needful & profitable, taught not this doctrine, it may be fairly presumed, that this doctrine is neither needful nor profitable. All men, as far as the merits of another can prevail, are partakers of the merits of Christ and no man can expect more. How absurd then is it to see men squander away their money upon indulgences, instead of laying it out properly in charitable uses : as if it were a more acceptable service to God to add superfluous wealth to a monastery, than to distribute alms among necessitous Christians. Besides, in how uncharitable a light does the Pope appear, if there be one soul left in purgatory. A turn of his pen would deliver the sinner ; and if he deny that, it can only be thought avarice and want of a good heart.—If he has not power to deliver all men, he is a deceiver ; for he declares that he has such power. But his pardons, it seems, are only to be had for ready money, and granted too, not for the good of mankind, but to promote dissension and war. Were this boasted power of pardoning an heavenly gift, like God's other favours, it would certainly be dispensed in an impartial manner. Wealth could not command it and the Pope, like the Apostles, would cry out, *Thy money perish with thee*. Whether the Pope's pardons be dispensed in this impartial manner, let the Papists say. They will tell you, perhaps, he adds, that the pardons themselves are a free gift ; but that the bull occasions the expence. Such prevarication puts one in mind of the host, who professed to treat his guests with a goose for nothing, but charged them without conscience for the sauce.—Thus, by the vile trade of indulgences, are men deceived. Any one, who can pay for a pardon, may laugh at sin. He has found an easy way to heaven ; much easier than by contrition, repentance, and works of charity. May we not, then, says he, safely conclude, that indulgences were an invention of Antichrist, to magnify the sacerdotal power ; and to bring in wealth to the church, at the expence of religion, and the souls of men ? The reader will observe, in Wickliff's remarks here upon this subject, much acuteness of wit, and strength of reasoning.

He appears to have thought there was something very plausible in the Roman catholic doctrine of *purgatory* ; he therefore assented to there being such a state ; but he saw the absurdity of supposing that God intrusted any man with a power to release sinners from that state. It appears from some parts of his works, that he was once of opinion, that pious prayers might be serviceable to
souls

souls imprisoned there ; but in his later writings he wholly renounces this opinion, and calls it a pernicious error. However, he does not seem to have absolutely fixed his opinion upon this subject.

No man could be more strenuous than our Reformer against resting upon the externals of religion ; or said more to convince men of the folly of expecting, that building and ornamenting churches, frequenting public worship, or any outward expression of religion, would satisfy God, without the heart, or make any atonement for a bad life. Holy water, (says he) and the blessing of a bishop, are mere impositions, tending only to blind the people, and make them rest in those externals, rather than in God's mercy, and their own repentance. He asserted the necessity of being assisted by divine grace ; without this, he saw not how an human being could make himself acceptable to God.

In some part of his writings he appears to have held that strange doctrine, *That dominion is founded on grace*. His argument seems to be, that as all things belong to God, and as good men alone are the children of God, they are of course the only true inheritors. But in other parts of his writings, it appears as if he only spoke figuratively on this subject, and of ideal perfection. It seems plain from many passages in his works, that he did not hold this doctrine in its literal sense ; though what he says on this subject, on the whole, may rather be called whimsical.

All arts, which administered to the luxuries of life, he thought, were prohibited by the gospel. The scriptures (says he) tell us, that having food and raiment, we should be therewith content. And he seems to have thought it wrong, upon the principles of the gospel, to take away the life of man upon any occasion. The whole trade of war he thought utterly unlawful ; nor did he think the execution of criminals a defensible practice.

In some part of his writings he speaks so strongly of fate, that he appears an absolute predestinarian. In other parts he expresses himself in so cautious a manner, that it seems as if his principles were not fixed upon the subject.

With regard to *images*, he thought that if they were exact representations of the truth, they might be very serviceable to give the vulgar strong impressions of the poverty and sufferings of Christ, his apostles, and martyrs. But this use, he said, could not be expected from them in the Roman church. Those gay representations, decked in costly apparel, instead of giving us the idea of suffering saints, exhibit to us persons of pomp and expence, and should be considered as heretical books, full of false doctrine, and as such should be condemned to the fire. Besides, says he, how shocking is it to see those dumb idols covered with gold and silver, while Christ's poor members are

starving in the streets. But of all the bad effects which attended images, the worst, he said, was their leading the people into idolatry.

He was very warm against *sanctuaries*. That the greatest crimes should be sheltered under the safeguard of religion, was, in his opinion, such a perversion of all the principles of reason and Christianity, as could not be sufficiently exclaimed against.

With regard to *pilgrimages*, he says, that although visiting the shrines of saints might be suffered with a view to impress us strongly with a sense of their virtues, yet pilgrimages, as commonly used, are of most pernicious consequence. If idol-worship be bad, pilgrimages are equally so, leading the people into idolatry, and a misapplication of their charity.

Heresy, according to Wickliff, consisted in a bad life, as well as in false opinions. No good man, he thought, could be an heretic. He stiled the ecclesiastical censures denounced by the church, punishments inflicted by anti christian jurisdiction. *Peter pence* he called an iniquitous imposition, without any foundation in scripture.

With regard to *oaths*, he considered it as plain idolatry to swear by any creature. In this sense he understood the prohibition of our Saviour, against swearing by heaven and earth.

He held *fasting* to be enjoined only for the sake of virtuous habits; and calls it therefore highly *pharisaical* to place a greater value upon bodily abstinence from food, than spiritual abstinence from sin.

It was a conjecture of his, that this world was created to supply the loss in heaven, occasioned by the fallen angels; and that when that loss should be supplied, the end of things would succeed. And upon a text in the Revelations, he founded an opinion, that the devil was let loose about one thousand years; from which period he dated the rise of the principal corruptions of the church.

He was a great enemy to the endowments of *chantry-priests*. They led the people, he thought, to put their trust in such endowments, rather than in a good life: Whereas no prayers, even of the holiest saints, he thought, could benefit a bad man. *That man* (saith he excellently) *who liveth best, prayeth best*. A simple pater-noster from a religious plowman, is of more value in the sight of God, than a thousand masses from a wicked prelate.

His constant advice to his brethren was, to exact their tythes by the holiness of their lives. If thou be a priest, (says he) contend with others, not in pomp, but in piety. Ill befits it a man, who lives on the labours of the poor, to squander away the dear-bought fruits of their industry upon his own extravagancies.

Church-endowments, he thought, were the root of all the corruptions among the clergy. He often lamented the luxury they occasioned,

occasioned, and used to with the church was again reduced to its primitive poverty and innocence. With greater warmth he expressed himself against the secular employments of the clergy. This he seemed to think an unpardonable desertion of their profession.

He was a great enemy to the superfluous wealth of the clergy. He allowed the labourer to live by his hire; but he asserted, that he had a right to his hire from nothing else. *Tythes*, he said, were only a sort of alms, no where of gospel-institution; which the people might either give or withdraw, as they found their pastor deserved. It was no wonder this doctrine drew upon Wickliff the indignation of the clergy; it would have had the same effect in much later times.

He was a great advocate for the marriage of the clergy, and thought the celibacy prescribed by the Romish church one of the principal causes of its corruption.

Thus it appears, upon a fair review of the opinions of Wickliff, that his sentiments in general were extremely just and rational; though in some points he appears to have been mistaken. The progress of truth is gradual and progressive; and it would be therefore unreasonable to expect, that the sentiments of Wickliff on every subject should be quite so just, as they probably would have been, had he lived in later and more enlightened times. When we consider the ignorance and barbarism of the age in which Wickliff lived, we have reason to be amazed at that superior wisdom and sagacity, which so much distinguished him above his cotemporaries. It has been said of Wickliff, and with the utmost justice, that he "was in religion, what Bacon was afterwards in science; the great detector of those arts and glosses, which the barbarism of ages had drawn together, to obscure the mind of man." Bacon shewed the world, that true philosophy should be founded, not upon the authority of any antient philosopher, however celebrated, nor upon any visionary theories or systems, but upon reason and experiment. And Wickliff pointed out the weakness and danger of a blind submission to any human authority in matters of religion; and shewed the necessity of building our faith on no other foundation than reason and the word of God.

We may be very ready to admit that Wickliff was mistaken in some points; and yet far from allowing that he was (as a late ingenious historian has thought proper to express himself of this reformer) *strongly tainted with enthusiasm*. But those who are themselves totally indifferent about religion, will naturally consider every man who is zealous in the promotion of its interests, and who involves himself in difficulties in the support of religious truth, as an *enthusiast*. And it ought not to be expected, that those who are enemies to Christianity, should do justice to the character of Wickliff. Those, however, who are unwilling to applaud Wickliff for his zeal for what he esteemed

to be truth, should at least respect him for his manly and vigorous opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny.

The works of Wickliff were very numerous, yet he seems not to have been engaged in any large work: His pieces in general might be properly called tracts; and were the greatest part of them on different subjects in divinity, though some of them were on school questions, and others on subjects of more general knowledge. Some of them were written in Latin, and others in English. But as Wickliff lived before the invention of printing, there are but few of his pieces which have been printed. Among other tracts which he published, were the following:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. Trialogus, in four books, | 12. De curatorum erroribus. |
| This is written in the form | 13. De officio pastorali. |
| of a dialogue, and was called | 14. Dæmonum astus in subver- |
| Trialogus from the three | tenda religione. |
| speakers in it, whose names | 15. Of temptation. |
| are <i>Alatbia</i> , or <i>Truth</i> ; <i>Pseudis</i> , | 16. Active life and contempla- |
| or a <i>Lye</i> ; and <i>Phronesis</i> , | tive life. |
| or <i>Wisdom</i> . | 17. Virtuous patience. |
| 2. De religione perfectorum. | 18. Of pride. |
| 3. De ecclesia & membris. | 19. Observationes piæ in re- |
| 4. De diabolo & membris. | præcepta. |
| 5. De Christo & Antichristo. | 20. De natura fidei. |
| 6. De Antichristo & membris. | 21. Abstractiones logicales. |
| 7. Sermones in epistolas. | 22. A short rule of life. |
| 8. De veritate scripturæ. | 23. Of good priests. |
| 9. De dotatione ecclesiæ. | 24. Conciones de morte. |
| 10. De stipendiis ministrorum. | 25. Wickliff's wicket. |
| 11. De episcoporum erroribus. | 26. De arte sophistica. |



The Life of WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

IT is a circumstance which we cannot reflect on without some regret, that all the accounts of the life of this eminent prelate, and munificent patron of literature, are involved in much darkness and obscurity; so that although much diligence and attention have been employed to throw some light upon his history, particularly by the learned Dr. Lowth, we are still almost entirely destitute of any such account of him, as would enable us to form any accurate judgment of his real character, or lead us into an acquaintance with those particulars of his history, which form the most pleasing and instructive part of biography. The number of writers were so few, and real learning was at so low an ebb, at the period in which this prelate lived; and the progress of knowledge was so much obstructed, by the unhappy civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, in the succeeding age, that we are entirely in the dark with respect to some of the most interesting parts of the history of those times. But notwithstanding this, an history of Wykeham, even such a one as can be collected at this remote period, will afford entertainment to the curious reader. For though little can be collected of this prelate's private life, yet he was so much engaged, and had so much weight in the public administration of affairs, during a great part of his long life, that an history of Wykeham must contribute, in some degree, to elucidate a considerable period of the English history.

WILLIAM WYKEHAM, or, as he is more generally called, WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, was born at Wykeham, in Hampshire, in the year 1324, in the eighteenth year of the reign of king Edward the second. The general opinion is, that he took his name from the place of his birth, which was a custom very frequent in those times, when surnames were not so appropriated to families, as to descend regularly from father to son, as they do at present. There is good reason to believe, that the name of his father was John Longe; though it is affirmed by a very ancient writer, that his grandfather's name was Wykeham. But as this point is not very clear, neither is it very material. His parents appear to have been persons of good reputation and character, but in such narrow circumstances, that they were unable to give their son a liberal education. This deficiency in the

the circumstances of his parents, was however supplied by some generous patron; who maintained him at school at Winchester, where he was instructed in grammatical learning, and gave early proofs of his piety and diligence. This was, probably, Nicholas Uvedale, lord of the Manor of Wykeham, and governor of Winchester castle, an officer of considerable reputation in those days, and who is generally spoken of as Wykeham's first patron and benefactor. When he had finished his school education, it is said that he was taken into his patron's family, and became his secretary; and, indeed, the most ancient writers mention his being secretary to the constable of Winchester castle. He is said to have been afterwards recommended by Uvedale to the bishop of Winchester; and by both to have been made known to king Edward the third. Dr. Ayliffe says, that Wykeham behaved so well in the service of Uvedale, that he was likewise chosen by Edyngdon, bishop of Winchester, and at that time lord-treasurer of England, to be his secretary also: And that whilst Wykeham was in this office, king Edward making some stay at Winchester on his return from Portsmouth, was so well pleased with the beauty of Wykeham's person, and his majestic air, and also receiving a great character of him from Uvedale and Edyngdon, that he engaged him in his own service. He further adds, that Wykeham answered so pertinently to several political questions which the king put to him, that Edward conceived a very high idea of his merit.

It has been asserted by some writers, that Wykeham removed from Winchester to Oxford, to prosecute his studies, and that he continued there almost six years. But they appear to have had no foundation for this. On the contrary, there is great reason to believe that he never studied in any university. And it was for this reason, probably, that a tradition has been handed down, that Wykeham was an illiterate person. It would, however, be doing him great injustice, to suppose that he was really ignorant. He had, probably, acquired a considerable degree of real knowledge, though not of that kind which was then taught in the schools. And, indeed, learning in general was in so miserable a state at that time, and in particular in the university of Oxford, that it was, perhaps, no disadvantage to him to have been led into a different course of studies. The students at that university were at this period principally employed in certain logical contentions, which turned merely upon words; and so far prevailed, as to divide the scholars into perpetual factions. They were divided chiefly into two parties, called the Nominalists and Realists. The Nominalists were followers of William Occam, styled the Invincible Doctor; and the Realists of Duns Scotus, styled the Subtle Doctor. As these disputes, though in themselves very trifling and unimportant, were carried on with great acrimony, they prevented any progress in real learning, and introduced an unintelligible jargon in the stead of it; and their

their altercations were carried to such an height, that the students often had recourse to a very particular mode of argumentation; namely, the endeavouring to convince their antagonists by blows; for they had frequent battles, which sometimes ended in bloodshed. As by these means, a place which should have been appropriated to the studies of humanity and politeness, was become a scene of scandalous barbarity and brutality of manners, and as the real knowledge which could be acquired there was so inconsiderable, Wykeham can hardly be considered as any great sufferer, by not having received his education there.

It was manifestly for abilities of a very different kind from those commonly attained at that time in the university, that Wykeham was recommended to king Edward the third. He is said to have been brought to court, and placed there in the king's service, when he was about two or three and twenty years of age. What employment he had there at this time, is uncertain: The first office which he appears to have borne, was that of clerk of all the king's works, in his manors of Henle and Yelshampsted, which was conferred on him in May, 1356. Shortly after he was made surveyor of the king's works at the castle, and in the park of Windsor. By his patent for this office he had power given him to press all sorts of artificers, and to provide stone, timber, and all other materials, and carriages. Whilst he staid at Windsor, he was allowed one shilling a day, two shillings when he went elsewhere on his employment, and three shillings a week for his clerk; and the following year he received a grant from the king of a shilling a day, payable at the exchequer, over and above his former allowance.

It was by the advice and persuasion of Wykeham, that king Edward was induced to pull down great part of Windsor castle, and to re-build it in the magnificent manner in which it now appears; and the execution of this great work he committed entirely to him. Wykeham had likewise the sole direction of the building of Queenborough castle. The erection of this structure was attended with considerable difficulties, arising from the nature of the ground, and the lowness of the situation. These difficulties, however, did not discourage Wykeham from advising and undertaking the work; and in the event they only served to render his diligence, abilities, and skill in architecture, the more manifest and conspicuous.

As Wykeham, in the execution of all these employments, acquitted himself greatly to the satisfaction of king Edward, he obtained a very considerable degree of his favour and regard; and the king gave him very substantial proofs of it, by continually heaping upon him preferments, both ecclesiastical and civil. It is, however, related, that some of Wykeham's enemies gave so malicious a turn to an inscription which he had put on the palace at Windsor, as did for the present draw upon him the king's displeasure. The words of this inscription are, *This*
made

commissioned by the king to treat of the ransom of the king of Scotland, and the prolonging of the truce with the Scots, together with the chancellor, treasurer, and the earl of Arundel. He was also sometimes called Chief of the Privy Council; from which it may probably be inferred, that he was what is now styled President of the council. He was likewise sometimes called Governor of the Great Council; but it is likely that this was applied to him only while he held the post of chancellor; who does, by his office, preside in the house of Peers.

The great degree of favour in which Wykeham stood with the king, is sufficiently apparent from the many preferments, civil and ecclesiastical, which he bestowed upon him. Froissard, a contemporary historian, who resided a considerable time in England,

‘ Bonham, in the collegiate church of
‘ Suthwell, York diocese; the tax
‘ fifty-five marks sterling. *Item*, the
‘ canonry and prebend of the altar
‘ of St. Mary, in the collegiate
‘ church of Beverly, York diocese;
‘ the tax sixteen pounds sterling.
‘ *Item*, the canonry and prebend of
‘ Totenhale, in the church of Lon-
‘ don; the tax sixteen marks ster-
‘ ling. *Item*, the canonry and pre-
‘ bend of Fordyngton, in the church
‘ of Sarum; the tax twenty-five
‘ marks sterling. *Item*, the canonry
‘ and prebend of Werwell, in the
‘ monastery of the Nuns of Wer-
‘ well, Wynton diocese; the tax
‘ sixty marks. *Item*, the canonry and
‘ prebend of Iwerne, in the monas-
‘ tery of the Nuns of Shafton, Sa-
‘ rum diocese; the tax thirty marks.
‘ *Item*, the canonry and prebend of
‘ Swerdes, in the church of Dublin
‘ in Ireland; the tax ninety marks
‘ sterling. *Item*, the prepositure of
‘ Wells, with a prebend in the
‘ church of Wells, annexed to the
‘ same; the tax sixty eight marks
‘ sterling. *Item*, the canonry and
‘ prebend of Alnethlie, in the King’s
‘ free chapel of Bruggenorth, Coven-
‘ try and Litchfield diocese; the va-
‘ lue of the said prebend annually
‘ twenty-three pounds six shillings
‘ and eight pence. *Item*, the said Sir
‘ William did hold, by virtue of
‘ apostolical dispensation, at the time
‘ of the date of the monition afore-
‘ said, and since, the parish church of
‘ Manyhynet, Exon diocese, at that
‘ time of lay patronage: It is a be-
‘ nedicence with cure, not compatible
‘ with another cure; but the same
‘ church he hath wholly resigned,
‘ and simply quitted, in form of law,
‘ as well really as verbally; the tax
‘ of the same eight pounds sterling.
‘ *Item*, he did obtain a rescript or bull
‘ apostolical in the time of our lord
‘ Pope Innocent the sixth, directed
‘ to the bishop elect of St. David’s,
‘ to examine the said William per-
‘ sonally; and if he should be found
‘ duly qualified, to grant unto him
‘ by provision the canonry and pre-
‘ bend of the church of St. Andrew
‘ of Aukelond, Durham diocese,
‘ which formerly Thomas de Byde-
‘ kylt held in the said church during
‘ his life; but by virtue of the same
‘ he neither hath since had collation,
‘ nor the said canonry and prebend
‘ hath he possession of, nor hath in
‘ any wife had, nor intendeth to have
‘ for the future, nor in any manner
‘ to make use of the said rescript or
‘ bull apostolical; the tax or value
‘ is not known.’ Thus it appears
‘ that the yearly value, partly taxed
‘ and partly real, of the benefices
‘ which Wykeham had for some consi-
‘ derable time held all together, was
‘ 873l. 6s. 8d. and of those which he
‘ still remained in possession of, and
‘ continued to hold till he became
‘ bishop of Winchester, was 842 l.
‘ And therefore when we consider
‘ likewise the civil employments which
‘ Wykeham was possessed of, and the
‘ very considerable difference between
‘ the value of money at that time and
‘ the present, it will appear that the
‘ income of Wykeham must have
‘ been very great,

evidence of his regard to him; but we must at the same time, perhaps, acknowledge, though we would not willingly do any injustice to the memory of Wykeham, that we can hardly conceive how he could, conscientiously, accept such a number of ecclesiastical preferments, and hold so many of them at one time, however willing the king might be to bestow them on him. His acceptance of so many preferments in the church, gives us indeed too much reason to suspect, that his desire of accumulating riches preponderated over his regard to the interests of religion. Indeed this practice of holding a plurality of livings prevailed greatly in the church at this time; there being some in England, who, by the Pope's authority, possessed at once twenty ecclesiastical benefices and dignities, with dispensation moreover for holding as many more as they could lawfully procure, without limitation of number: So that Pope Urban V. in 1365, published a bull against pluralities; by which all ecclesiastical persons whatsoever, possessed of more benefices than one, either with or without cure, were required to deliver a distinct and particular account of each their benefices, with the sum which each was taxed at in the king's books, to be transmitted to the metropolitan, and by him to the Pope. (f)

But the preferments bestowed by the king on Wykeham were not confined to the church. In June, 1363, he was warden and judiciary of the king's forests on this side Trent. On the 14th of March following, the king granted him an assignment of twenty shillings a day out of the exchequer. He was made keeper of the privy seal in May, 1364. And within two years after he was made secretary to the king. In May, 1365, he was

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commissioned

(f) The curious reader will, perhaps, not be displeased to see an abstract of the certificate which was made by the bishop of London to the archbishop of Canterbury, in consequence of this bull, containing the account exhibited to him by Wykeham of his benefices: As from that it will appear exactly what number of them he held at that time. It is as follows.

In the same year and month (October 1365) by William of Wykeham, clerk, archbishop of London, and secretary of our lord, the illustrious King of England, and keeper of his privy seal, by reason of his full office residing and commonly dwelling in my city and diocese of London, humbly, and in writing addressed to our Simon bishop of London, shortly, particularly, and distinctly, as his official,

that he held the archdeaconry of Lincoln, having no ecclesiastical benefice nor manse annexed unto the same, which is reputed to be a dignity in the church of Lincoln, and at a benefice with cure, and incompatible with another cure, not taxed; the true and common annual value of the same, if the archdeacon visiteth all the churches of his archdeaconry, and payeth the whole procurations every where in ready money, extendeth to three hundred and fifty pounds sterling. Item, the canonry and prebend of Sutton, in the said church of Lincoln; the tax of the same is two hundred and fifty marks sterling. Item, the canonry and prebend of Loughton, in the church of York; the tax one hundred and ten marks sterling. Item, the canonry and prebend of

Batham,

between the king and the Pope; and was, probably, the cause of the delay in the present case. King Edward, however, greatly interested himself on the behalf of Wykeham; and even condescended to write to the duke of Bourbon, one of his hostages for the king of France, to whom he had granted leave of absence about a year before, and had lately prolonged it at the Pope's request, desiring him to prevail with the Pope to confirm Wykeham's election. The duke accordingly went to Avignon, where the Pope then resided, and solicited the affair in person. The Pope, who was well pleased to receive a petition from the king of England, which was the very thing he proposed to himself by all this delay, easily complied; and accordingly he was consecrated in St. Paul's church, London, on the 10th of October, 1367, by the archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishops of London and Salisbury; and the same day the archbishop celebrated the feast of consecration with great magnificence at his palace of Lambeth. And Wykeham being now qualified, by his advancement in the church, to receive the highest dignity in the state, was constituted chancellor of England.

About this time the celebrated Black Prince, who had been made prince of Gascony by his father king Edward, that province having been ceded to England by the treaty of Bretigny, laid a new tax upon his Gascon subjects, called *chimney-money*. This tax had provoked the inhabitants of Gascony to a dangerous revolt. Charles V. now king of France, had, from the instant he mounted the throne, projected the breach of the treaty of Bretigny, in order to deprive king Edward of the advantages stipulated to him thereby. This incident was, therefore, too favourable to his views, not to be made use of. He found means to induce some of the Gascon barons to present a petition to the court of France, complaining that prince Edward had raised illegal taxes on his French subjects, and demanding redress. This was an affair in which the king of France had no right to interfere, as Gascony had been absolutely ceded to the king of England; and the prince of Wales was not in the least accountable to the French king for his administration. However, the prince was summoned before the court of peers at Paris, to answer the complaints against him. Prince Edward, on receiving this summons, made such an answer as might be expected from him. He declared, that he would come to Paris, but it should be with his helmet on his head, and sixty thousand men to witness his appearance. The French king, who expected such a return, immediately decreed, that the territories of the king of England in France were forfeited for this contempt. Upon this, king Edward, in 1369, summoned a parliament to be held at Westminster; and the king, lords, and commons, being assembled in the Painted Chamber, Wykeham, now bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor, made the following speech

speech to the parliament, in order to declare the causes of their meeting.

“ Sirs, the King, in all occasions of importance which concerned himself or his kingdom, hath always acted by the counsel and advice of his lords and commons, which he hath ever found to be good and loyal, and for which he most heartily thanketh them. It is very well known to you all, that our lord the king some time ago, with regard to the claim and right which he hath in the kingdom of France, by the advice of his lords and commons, concluded a peace with his adversary of France upon certain conditions; namely, that his said adversary should surrender to him certain lands and countries beyond the seas, and should also pay to him certain sums of money, within a time limited by the treaty; and likewise, that in consideration of his renouncing all jurisdiction and sovereignty in Gascony, and all other countries belonging to the king beyond the seas, our lord the king, on his part, would at the same time renounce the title of king of France. But his said adversary not only wholly failed to surrender the lands and countries agreed upon by the treaty, and made no payment of the money, but has also accepted of the appeals of the count D’Arminac, the lord De la Bret, and others, who are lieges of our lord the king in Gascony; and in consequence of these appeals, hath summoned the prince of Gascony to appear before him at Paris, on the first day of May now past, to answer to their appeals, contrary to the terms of the treaty. And moreover, he hath sent a great number of armed men, who wage war in Gascony, and have taken there by force, and still keep possession of, towns, castles, fortresses, and other places, have seized the king’s subjects, killed some, and imprisoned others, or set upon them grievous ransoms: And farther, hath now lately sent a great number of men into the demesne lands of the king in Ponthieu, who have seized his towns, castles, and fortresses, by force of arms. On these attempts of the king of France upon the said principality, contrary to the form of the treaty, the prince sent special messengers fully to inform the king of them; who also acquainted him, that the prince, upon this occasion, had summoned the wisest men of the principality, and consulted with them, whether upon advice of these open infractions of the peace, the king might not by right and reason resume and use the title of king of France; who answered, that he might do it by right and good faith. Upon this point, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other prelates, are charged by the king to consult together, and to declare to him their advice and counsel. The king also willeth, as the custom hath been at these times, that all those who think themselves aggrieved, should present their petitions, who shall be answered; and for this purpose he
“ hath

“hath assigned certain clerks to receive them; and certain lords and others to answer them.”

From speeches of so public a nature as the foregoing, scarce any idea can be formed of the character of the speaker: In general, therefore, the insertion of them is, perhaps, not very pertinent in biographical compilations. But the particulars of the transactions of Wykeham's life, which are transmitted down to us, are so few, that even a speech of this kind of his, is a matter of some curiosity. And it may be observed, that Wykeham, when he had occasion to address the parliament as chancellor, spoke directly and clearly to the point in question, without that ecclesiastical pedantry, which is to be found in most of the speeches of the chancellors of that age, who were generally ecclesiastics. His speeches were not those of the priest, but of the statesman.

King Edward having afterwards, by the advice of the parliament, resumed the title of king of France, and received considerable supplies, made great preparations for carrying on the war against France. The duke of Lancaster invaded France on the side of Calais, while the prince of Wales attempted to regain the revolted towns on the other side. The war, however, was carried on unsuccessfully on the part of England: Charles the Fifth, who was one of the ablest princes who ever sat upon the Gallic throne, had concealed his preparations with so much art, and taken his measures so well, that the English were surprized while they were unprovided for the war. Add to this, what was of the worst consequence with respect to the English affairs, that the brave prince of Wales was prevented, by a dangerous and lingering disorder, from properly attending to the operations of the war. In short, the French had gained such advantages, that they began to think of transferring the war into England, and made great preparations for invading it. Things being in this situation, king Edward called a parliament in 1371, which was opened by a speech made by Wykeham, as lord-chancellor.

In this parliament a representation was made to the king, by the lords and commons, that the government of the realm had been too long in the hands of the ecclesiastics; they petitioned, therefore, that the chief officers of the king's court and household might be chosen from among the laity. In consequence of this representation, which is said to have been owing to the influence of the duke of Lancaster, who was no friend to the clergy, Wykeham was removed from the post of chancellor, and the great seal was delivered to Sir Robert de Thorp. The duke of Lancaster, however, appears evidently to have had no personal ill-will to Wykeham: On the contrary, they were, at this time, upon very friendly terms together. Nor was he dismissed with any marks of the king's displeasure; nor did he himself

himself discover any disgust at his removal : For he attended at the ceremony of constituting the new chancellor, and afterwards at that of his first opening the great seal in Westminster-hall. And soon after his removal, he received the king's writ of summons, to attend the great council which was held at Winchester, to consider of a proper method of levying the supplies granted by parliament. He appears also to have enjoyed the esteem and favour of the commons ; for in 1373, they named him with seven other lords, whom they petitioned to have appointed as a committee to confer with them on the supplies to be granted to the king.

The design of the French to invade England had given so great an alarm, that even the whole body of the clergy, from the age of sixteen to sixty, were ordered to be arrayed, mustered, and in arms. The invasion, however, came to nothing ; and in 1374, the duke of Lancaster concluded a truce with the French ; in which, according to their usual custom, they gained more by their intrigues than they had done in the war. The truce was renewed the next year, and by this time the English were in a manner driven out of France.

Pope Gregory the eleventh had employed his good offices, in order to bring the kings of England and France to treat of a peace ; and on this occasion the Pope wrote to Wykeham, as to a person who had the greatest influence with the king, exhorting and conjuring him to use his utmost endeavours to incline him to an accommodation. His holiness, however, was not so entirely absorbed in the thoughts of promoting peace, as to omit laying hold of any opportunity of advancing the interests of the holy See : For in his letter to Wykeham, he besought him earnestly to forward, by all possible means, the payment of the subsidy, which on various pretences he had imposed on the clergy of England ; and which was now moderated to the sum of 60,000 florins, in a conference between the agents of both parties at the congress of Bruges ; on condition, however, that 40,000 florins more should be paid, to make up the sum at first demanded, in case a peace should be established between the two kingdoms. So that it is evident, that the good pontiff thought it not improper that his labours for the promotion of peace should be productive of some solid advantages to himself, or to the holy See.

Notwithstanding Wykeham was so much employed in affairs of state, and so much taken up in his personal attendance upon the king, yet he did not neglect the duties of his episcopal function, nor the care of his diocese. When he was in full possession of his bishopric, one of the first things which engaged his attention, was the care of the episcopal houses and buildings, many of which his predecessor had left out of repair, and

in a ruinous condition. (g) The buildings belonging to the bishops of Winchester were at this time very large and numerous; for they had ten or twelve different castles, manor-houses, or places of residence, properly accommodated for the reception of themselves and their retinue; together with many granges, parks, warrens, and the like. Such was the state and grandeur in which at that time lived the ministers of a religion, intended to inspire humility and lowliness of heart; the professed disciples of a master, who had not a place in which to lay his head! Wykeham immediately set about repairing all his episcopal buildings in such a manner as might be expected from a prelate of his spirit, and of his skill and experience in architecture; and in the repairs of the houses and palaces belonging to his See, and in several new buildings which he raised upon the estates of the bishopric, he expended above twenty thousand marks. In 1373, the bishop held a visitation of his whole diocese; not only of the secular clergy, but also of the monasteries and religious houses of all sorts, all which he visited in person; and the next year he sent his commissioners with powers to correct and reform the several irregularities and abuses which he had discovered in the course of his visitation. Some years afterwards, the bishop having three several times visited all the religious houses throughout his diocese, and having thoroughly informed himself of the state and condition of each, and of the particular abuses which required correction and reformation, besides the orders which he had already given, and the remedies which he had occasionally applied by his commissioners, now issued his injunctions to each of them; which were accommodated to the several exigencies, and intended to correct the abuses introduced, and to recall them all to the strict observance of the rules of their respective orders. Many of these injunctions are still remaining, and are evidences of the care and attention with which he discharged this part of his episcopal duty.

The zeal and assiduity with which Wykeham pursued the necessary work of discipline, and the reformation of abuses, appears particularly in the pains he took to restore the hospital of St. Cross, at Sparkeford, near Winchester, to the original design of its founder. This famous hospital was founded by Henry de Blois,

(g) Wykeham made the executors of the late prelate Edyngdon pay 1662l. 10s. sterling for dilapidations; he also made a further demand upon them of 700 marks, which they acknowledged, and promised to pay. The standing stock of the bishopric which was delivered to him, was 127 draught horses, 1556 head of black cattle, 3876 weathers, 4777 ewes,

and 3527 lambs; all which were fed upon the lands of the bishopric. The bishops of Winchester, in those days, must have been very unreasonable, if they considered themselves as not sufficiently paid, at least so far as they could be paid by the good things of this world, for their share in the government of the church of Christ.

de Blois, bishop of Winchester, and brother to king Stephen, in the year 1132, and was very nobly endowed; but the revenues were in process of time iniquitously embezzled by those, whose duty it was to see them properly disposed of. Wykeham was resolved to redress this grievance, and exerted all his endeavours for that purpose. But he met with many difficulties and obstructions in this business, and was engaged in a troublesome dispute concerning it, which lasted upwards of six years, the affair having been brought before the Pope. However, Wykeham's resolution and perseverance having at length overcome all opposition, he called the delinquents to a severe account; and reinstated the hospital in all its rights, restoring in every respect its primitive use and customs, agreeable to the original intention of its founder. It is to be regretted, that Wykeham's behaviour in this respect is not oftener imitated by those whose situation authorizes and enables them to examine into the management of charitable institutions: For there are too many of these, which by the mismanagement, negligence, or dishonesty of those to whom the care of them is intrusted, are prevented from answering, at least in a great degree, the generous and benevolent intentions of their founders. Persons in affluent circumstances, therefore, who are governors of hospitals, would often do much more service to society, by exerting themselves to prevent the frauds and negligences of the officers of such institutions which are already established, and by placing them upon a proper footing, than by the largest donations to new foundations.

The abuses which Wykeham had observed in the hospital of St. Cross, awakened his attention to other charities of the same nature. Whilst he had that affair upon his hands, he held a visitation of the hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark; and afterwards that of Sandon, in the county of Surry; and the irregularities which he found in those hospitals he corrected, no opposition being made to his authority. And at the same time that he was thus engaged in the reformation of these charitable institutions, he was forming the plan of a more noble and extensive foundation of his own. He had resolved to dispose of the great wealth of which he was possessed, in some charitable and public-spirited use; but when he came to fix his choice upon some design, he was considerably embarrassed to know how he should pitch upon one that was likely to be of the greatest public benefit, and the least liable to abuse. On this occasion, he examined with great care the various rules of the Religious Orders, and compared with them the lives of the several Professors; but he said, that he was with grief obliged to declare, that he could not any where find that the ordinances of their founders, according to their true design and intention, were at present observed by any of them. This reflection, which very much affected him, almost determined him to distribute his

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riches among the poor and indigent with his own hands. However, the consideration of the late great reduction of the number of the Clergy, by pestilences and otherwise, induced him to change that resolution. The great plague, which raged in England for five months only, in the year 1349, is said to have swept away almost one half of the people, and nine parts out of ten of the Clergy. It carried off whole families together, and left none remaining. There was buried in the church-yard called the Charter-House, in London, fifty thousand persons, who died of it. In the hospital of Sandon, in the county of Surry, the master and brethren, every one of them, died of it. The parish churches were for the most part deserted, and left without divine service; and at Oxford the schools were shut, and the scholars dispersed themselves, or died. The Clergy were by this means become so scarce, that afterwards great numbers of illiterate laymen, who could hardly read the common service, and much less understand it, were admitted into holy orders. In 1361, there was another, called the second or lesser plague, which carried off great numbers of the common people, many of the nobility, and seven of the Bishops. There was a third plague in the year 1368, and another in 1370, which raged particularly at Oxford. Wykeham, therefore, influenced by the consideration of these great national calamities, determined at last to do all that was in his power to remedy this desolation of the church, by relieving poor scholars in their clerical education, and to establish two colleges of students, for the support and increase of Christian knowledge, and for the improvement of the liberal arts and sciences. Accordingly he purchased several parcels of ground in the city of Oxford, on which to found his intended college. His college of Winchester, which he intended as a nursery for that of Oxford, was part of his original plan; for before he proceeded any farther in his design for the latter, he established a school at Winchester, of the same kind, and for the same purpose with the former; and he made an agreement with Richard de Herton, that for ten years he should diligently instruct, in grammatical learning, as many poor scholars as the Bishop should send him: Wykeham agreeing likewise to provide Herton with a proper assistant.

But whilst our prelate was endeavouring to carry into execution these generous designs, he was suddenly attacked by a party which was formed against him at court, and in such a manner as reduced him to a necessity of laying aside his designs for the present. But in order to understand this affair, it will be necessary to take a view of the state of public affairs in England at this period. In 1374, a truce being concluded between France and England, and all hostilities between the two nations ceasing, the duke of Lancaster returned, and resided in the court of England. The prince of Wales had been obliged to return home a considerable time before, on account of his declining
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state of health, and his case began now to be considered as desperate. King Edward was also so much impaired, both in body and mind, as to be incapable of discharging the duties of government. This illustrious prince, who had now outlived that spirit and magnanimity by which he had formerly been so eminently distinguished, was now become a dupe to that infamous woman Alice Perrers. As both the king and the prince of Wales were, therefore, unable to manage the public affairs, the care of them naturally devolved upon the duke of Lancaster. However, he seems to have thought himself not sufficiently secure of maintaining his ascendancy in the government, without the assistance of Alice Perrers, whose influence over the old King was very great, and with whom therefore the duke connected himself. But by taking this woman into his party, and making use of her power, he did in effect get the management of affairs entirely into his own hands. It was indeed strongly suspected by the whole nation, whether justly or not, that the duke of Lancaster carried his views farther; and as there was no probability that the Black Prince could live long, had a design to supplant his young nephew Richard, and on the demise of his father, to seize the crown himself. And it must be acknowledged, that it is not easy to conceive why the Duke of Lancaster should act in concert with such a woman as Alice Perrers, who was a dishonour both to his father and the nation, if he had not had something in view, which he could not honourably avow. Be this, however, as it may, the Duke of Lancaster assumed a very large degree of power, which he sometimes exercised in an arbitrary and oppressive manner. And the Prince of Wales, who had entertained the same suspicions of his brother that the greater part of the nation had done, and was therefore alarmed with apprehensions for his son, was resolved to use his utmost endeavours to obstruct the Duke of Lancaster's designs, and to break the party which he had formed at court, and get those who belonged to it removed from thence. The Prince of Wales had a great number of friends in the Parliament; and among those who strongly supported his interest, was our prelate Wykeham. And in 1375, the prince's friends so far prevailed, that the parliament, after having granted those supplies to the government which they thought proper, petitioned the King to augment his council to ten or twelve of the chief prelates and nobility; and that nothing of moment should be transacted without the advice and concurrence of four at least of that number. To this request, under some restrictions, the King assented; nine Lords and Prelates were accordingly appointed, and among this number was the Bishop of Winchester. The Parliament also impeached several individuals for having raised money illegally, and committing extortion in the execution of their offices. Among these was the Lord Latimer, then Lord-chamberlain, who had the greatest share of the confidence and

friendship of the Duke of Lancaster; and that nobleman was convicted of clandestine traffic, and other instances of oppression and corruption; for which he was confined in the marshal's sea, until he should pay a fine of twenty thousand marks, and was rendered incapable of holding any office under the King. Alice Perrers was also banished from court, and an ordinance made with particular relation to her, That no woman, especially Alice Perrers, should solicit or prosecute any business personally in the King's courts of judicature. And it is affirmed by some historians, that the Duke of Lancaster himself was with the rest removed from about the King's person, at this time; in consequence of these remonstrances of the Parliament; and indeed they were sufficiently understood to be levelled at him, the persons prosecuted being his chief friends and dependents, though it was not thought proper to mention him expressly. The chief manager, and most leading member of the House of Commons, against the Duke of Lancaster's friends, was Sir Peter de la Mare; who distinguished himself greatly in the affair by his zeal, eloquence, and abilities: He was a knight of Herefordshire, and steward to the earl of March, who favoured the same cause. The proceedings of this Parliament, and the severity which it exercised against the Duke of Lancaster's party, were so agreeable to the general sense of the nation, that this Parliament was afterwards distinguished by the name of the Good Parliament. Before this session of Parliament was ended, that celebrated hero, Edward, Prince of Wales, died, greatly and universally lamented by the nation. This Prince had always had a great regard for the Bishop of Winchester, who was zealously attached to his service; and he gave him the last evidence of his esteem, by appointing him one of the executors of his will. Notwithstanding the Prince of Wales did not live to see the conclusion of this parliament, his friends did, however, secure for him that point which he principally aimed at: For upon his death, the Commons immediately petitioned the King, that Richard of Bourdeaux, his son, might be brought into Parliament, that he might be acknowledged as the heir-apparent of the kingdom; and they further petitioned, together with the Lords, that he might be declared Prince of Wales; With both which requests the King readily complied.

Wykeham had formerly enjoyed a considerable share of the Duke of Lancaster's friendship: And he had so much confidence in him, that before he set out on his expeditions to France in the years 1369 and 1373, the Duke having obtained of the King a grant to certain trustees named by him, of the custody and administration of the revenues of his castles and estates, for one year after his own decease, in order to the payment of his debts, and for such other uses as he should direct, appointed the Bishop of Winchester one of his trustees for both those grants. And in the beginning of the year 1375, he likewise constituted him his attorney,

attorney, together with the Earl of Arundel, to appear and act for him in any of the courts of England, during his absence at the congress of Bruges. But notwithstanding the esteem and friendship which the Duke of Lancaster appears for a considerable time to have entertained for Wykeham, his sentiments towards him were entirely changed, upon the Bishop's taking part with those who were attached to the Prince of Wales, and who opposed his friends and dependents. From that time, instead of being Wykeham's friend, he became his open and avowed enemy.

The Parliament which had exerted itself so much against the friends and adherents of the Duke of Lancaster, was dismissed soon after the death of the Prince of Wales. And the Duke of Lancaster now re-assuming the reins of government, all the vigorous proceedings and decrees of the Parliament, against those delinquents who had been attached to his interests, came to nothing. Lord Latimer, Alice Perrers, and the rest of that party, returned again to Court. King Edward lay at Eltham, oppressed with age and sickness, and grief for the loss of his beloved son. They found means, therefore, not only to regain their former ascendancy, but also to revenge themselves upon their former opposers. The Council of twelve, who had been appointed for the management of public affairs, they procured to be discharged; and the Duke of Lancaster was declared Regent of the kingdom. Sir Peter de la Mare, who had distinguished himself so much in the late Parliament, was, by the Duke's order, very unjustly committed prisoner to Nottingham castle; and it was soon after the turn of our prelate, Wykeham, to feel the weight of the Duke's resentment. He accordingly procured articles of accusation to be brought against the Bishop, for divers crimes committed by him during his administration of affairs. These articles were eight in number. In the *first* article it was alledged against the Bishop, that after the peace made with France, he had the disposal and management of all the king's revenues, both at home and beyond sea, with all the subsidies granted by Parliament, and the sums received for the ransoms of the King of France, of the country of Burgundy, and of the King of Scotland, and other sums of money received on the King's account, for eight years, during the whole time that Simon Langham, late Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Barnet, bishop of Ely, were treasurers of England; and that these revenues, subsidies, &c. had not for the most part been applied to the profit of the King and kingdom. And that when the peace had lasted ten years, and the second war began, the King's treasury was found almost empty, and the King in great straits was forced to burthen his subjects with subsidies and loans; all which, it was alledged, was owing to the bad management of the Bishop of Winchester. In the *second* article he was charged with having unjustly fined several persons, who had behaved well

well in the late war ; which it was said had so disgusted the soldiers, that they entered into companies, and made war in France, which occasioned the renewal of the war, and other bad consequences. In the *third* article it was said, that the Bishop had caused the hostages of the King of France, and particularly the Dukes of Orleans, Berry, Anjou, and Bourbon, and many others, to be set at liberty for his own profit. In the *fourth* article he was charged with having neglected to send succours into the country of Ponthieu, though he had received timely notice of the necessity of it ; by which negligence of his, it was said, that country was lost. The *fifth* and *sixth* articles charge him with having caused a fine of 100*l.* to be lessened to 20*l.* and certain rents and profits due to the King to be remitted. In the *seventh* article it was alledged against him, that he had bought up the King's debts with the King's money, and for his profit, at a discount of 75 per cent. or for one fourth ; and not returned the whole profit to the treasury. In the *eighth* article the Bishop was charged with having, when he was chancellor, by his own authority, often caused fines to be lessened ; and in particular with causing 40*l.* the half of a fine of 80*l.* which had been paid by John Grey, to be re-paid to the said Grey, on pretence of some bargain between him and the Bishop.

It is not possible, at this time, to explain several particulars relative to these articles. It may, however, be observed, that the first article, in which he was charged with having employed the revenues of the crown in an unjustifiable manner, was, in effect, the same that was contained in the declaration of the Commons, in the last Parliament, and which was directed against the Duke of Lancaster and his party. Particular abuses had been then enquired into, and several of that party impeached and convicted, to the general satisfaction of the nation. But as the Lancastrian party had now gained the ascendancy, and means had been found to procure a Parliament better affected to their interests, they now transferred the charge, in general terms, from themselves to the Bishop of Winchester. However, the impropriety and unreasonableness of charging him with the gross sum of the whole public revenue, for so many years, and even for some time before he bore any office in the state, strikes at the first view. Nor, indeed, was Wykeham the person properly answerable for it : For he never held the post of treasurer of England, though many authors have affirmed that he did ; nor does it appear that Langham and Barnet, who successively held that office during the time in question, were any way dependent upon him ; and Barnet was still living to answer for himself. Indeed, whoever had the management of the public revenue, it was not to be wondered at, that by an expensive foreign war, of upwards of twenty years continuance, the nation should be so exhausted, and the king so overwhelmed with debts,

debts, as not to be able to recover themselves in an unsettled and imperfect peace of nine years.

As to some of the other charges against Wykeham, they appear to be nothing more than common instances of the king's generosity, perverted into articles of accusation against him; and, without entering into a minute examination of the rest, it may be sufficient to observe, as it will be the best justification of him which can be given at this time, that when the Bishop was heard upon these articles before a certain number of Bishops and Lords, and others of the privy Council, appointed by the King for that purpose, it was the last article only upon which they thought proper to give judgment. It appears evidently, therefore, that as they dropped the first seven articles, they considered them as unsupported by proof or evidence. However, in consequence of the judgment given upon the last article, in which he was charged with re-paying 40*l.* part of the fine of John Grey, writs were issued from the exchequer, ordering the sheriffs to seize into the King's hands the temporalities of the bishopric of Winchester. It may be observed here, in vindication of the Bishop, that the whole transaction relative to Grey's fine, appears to have been carried on in an open manner, and without any attempts to keep it secret; and that the whole sum refunded was paid to Grey, nor is there any appearance of Wykeham's having received any advantage from it. So that what was exceptionable in his conduct in this affair, was chiefly some irregularity in the procedure, of which his enemies took advantage. The Bishop was ordered to attend again at Westminster, for a further examination, on the 20th of the January following: But this was afterwards postponed to an uncertain day, at the King's pleasure; and Wykeham was never after brought to any hearing on this occasion.

However, the malice of Wykeham's enemies did not stop here: For, not content with having caused the temporalities of his bishopric to be seized, he was forbidden, in the King's name, to come within twenty miles of the Court. And upon his receiving this prohibition, he immediately left his palace at Southwark, and retired to the monastery of Merton, where he chiefly continued during the next month, and afterwards passed some time in the abbey of Waverly, near Farnham. Wykeham's affairs were in this situation, when the Parliament was opened on the 27th of January. The duke of Lancaster, now his great adversary, had re-established his power at Court beyond all opposition: And his influence in the Parliament was become very great; for it is affirmed, that he had procured the members of this Parliament to be elected at his pleasure, and had found means to exclude almost all those who had opposed him in the last Parliament. So that the general tendency of the proceedings of the present Parliament, was to reverse all which had been done in opposition to the Duke and his party in the last

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King Edward having completed the fiftieth year of his reign, the House of Commons petitioned the King, that he would grant an act of general pardon to his subjects, of all crimes committed to that time. An act of grace was accordingly passed, and the ill-will of the duke of Lancaster and his party against the Bishop of Winchester, was so great, that he was the only man excepted out of the general pardon. This exception was in the following words: "But always it is in the Kynge's mind, that Sir William Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, shall nothing enjoye of the said graces, graunts, and pardons, nor in no wise be comprized within the same." But Lord Latimer, Alice Perrers, and others of that party, were restored to their estates, and the judgments given against them in the last Parliament were reversed.

Wykeham had received no writ of summons from the King to attend this Parliament; he was, nevertheless, regularly summoned to Convocation, by the mandate of the Archbishop of Canterbury, executed by the Bishop of London. And when the Clergy met in Convocation, the King's message being delivered to the house, setting forth the necessity of his affairs, and desiring a suitable subsidy, Courtenay, Bishop of London, stood up, and made a grievous complaint of many injuries done to himself and the Bishop of Winchester; and of these he exhibited to the house a particular account in writing, and begged them not to consent to any subsidy, till satisfaction should be made to the injured parties. This motion of the Bishop of London, so far as it related to the Bishop of Winchester, was, in a manner, seconded by the whole House. Addressing themselves to the Archbishop of Canterbury as their head, they declared, that they looked upon the proceedings against the Bishop of Winchester, as an injury done to the whole body of the Clergy, and an infringement of the liberties of the Church; that they would not enter upon the business proposed to them, till all the members of the Clergy were united; and that as it concerned all, it ought to be approved of all. The Archbishop, being either of the Duke of Lancaster's party, or afraid of offending him, would willingly have declined meddling with their suit; but they persisted so firmly in their resolution, that he was obliged to prorogue the Convocation, and wait upon the King with a representation of their grievances. The King took time to consider more particularly of their petitions, and dismissed the Archbishop with a general promise, that all the matters complained of should be redressed. It appears that the Court would afterwards have waved taking any notice of that petition of the Convocation, which related to the Bishop of Winchester; but the Convocation behaved with such steadiness, that the Archbishop could get nothing done in the King's business, without sending for him. Accordingly Wykeham returned to Southwark on this occasion about the middle of February, attended with a
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small-retinue ; and taking his place at the Convocation, was received by the whole assembly with the greatest marks of respect and reverence. It seems that our Prelate had been accustomed to be attended with a very numerous retinue ; for it is observed on this occasion by an antient writer, that, " He came " to London with a very small number of servants, who before tyme was thought to excell all other in multitude of " servants." He adds, " He was joyfully receaved of hys " felowe Byshopps, and as became such a person, greatly honored."

Both the Parliament and the Convocation broke up shortly after ; but the Bishop still continued at Southwark. The late remonstrances of the Clergy, seem to have had but little effect in accommodating his affairs with the Court : For the King, instead of restoring his temporalities, soon after made a grant of them to his grandson Richard, as part of the payment of a certain revenue, which he had settled on him when he was created Prince of Wales. This was supposed to be done by the Duke of Lancaster, in order to render his proceedings against the Bishop the less odious and unpopular. It was some time after this, that disturbance happened in the city of London, of which an account hath been given in the life of Wickliff, which was occasioned by a quarrel arising between the Duke of Lancaster and the Bishop of London, at St. Paul's church, on account of Wickliff, who was cited to make his appearance there, and which obliged the Duke of Lancaster to fly from London. And it is evident from the behaviour of the people on this occasion, in what light they considered the prosecution against Wykeham. For the Duke having retired for safety to Kennington, where the Princess of Wales resided with her son Richard, the Princess sent three of the gentlemen of her Court, to persuade the people, in her name, to desist from their violent proceedings. And they returned answer to her, that out of the respect which they bore to her Highness, they would do whatsoever she commanded ; but, at the same time, required the messengers to demand of the Duke of Lancaster, that he would suffer the Bishop of Winchester and Sir Peter de la Mare to be brought to their answer, and be judged by their Peers, according to the laws of England. It clearly appears from this demand of the people, that they looked upon Wykeham not as a wicked Minister of State, who was deservedly called to account for a corrupt administration, but as a person unjustly oppressed by the exorbitant power of the Duke of Lancaster. And with whatever contempt some particular individuals, undeservedly raised by the possession of wealth and external honours above their fellow creatures, may affect to speak of the opinions of the Vulgar, it is certain that the general sentiments of the people in public matters are, for the most part, well founded.

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Wykeham's affairs continued in the same situation for about three months, without any thing farther being done in them ; when on the 18th of June following, the King restored to him his temporalities, in consideration of his engaging to fit out three ships of war for the defence of the kingdom. The Earls of March, Arundel, and Warwick, three of the most considerable Lords in the kingdom, were sureties for the Bishop's performance of his engagement ; and it might probably be by the intercession of these Peers, that he obtained the restitution of his temporalities. It has, indeed, been said, that he procured this grant by means of Alice Perrers, whose good offices with the King in his favour he purchased by a large sum of money, and promises of future services ; and that she gained this point for him, contrary to the inclinations of the Duke of Lancaster. But of this there is no proof : And as to what is affirmed by some Writers, that Alice was nearly related to Wykeham, and that he first introduced her to King Edward, it appears to be totally destitute of foundation. Wykeham had thus the satisfaction of being, in some measure, restored to the favour of his Prince and great benefactor, before his death ; though it was but a short time ; for King Edward died three days after Wykeham was restored to his temporalities. Indeed, he did not lose the King's favour, till Edward had in a manner lost his own liberty.

Whether the Duke of Lancaster did ever really entertain those designs upon the Crown which were imputed to him, or whether he considered his unpopularity as a bar to his designs, it is however certain, that he suffered his nephew Richard peaceably to ascend the Throne. And upon Richard the Second's accession, all the troubles of the Bishop of Winchester ceased immediately. He was summoned to attend the coronation of the King, which he did accordingly on the 15th of July, 1377 ; and his pardon passed the Privy Seal on the 31st of the same month. It was drawn up in a very full and extensive manner, and is particularly observed by Lord Coke to have been very learnedly penned, and to have been one of the most large and beneficial pardons which he had read. The articles of accusation before mentioned being first recited, it sets forth, that the King, reflecting upon the great damages and hardships that the Bishop of Winchester had sustained, on occasion of the said impeachment ; and revolving in his mind the many acceptable, useful, and laudable services, which the said Bishop had long performed for his grandfather, the many high offices which he had held under his grandfather and father, and the special affection and sincere love which his father, while he lived, always bore him ; did, by the advice and consent of his uncle the Duke of Lancaster, and other Prelates and Lords of his Council, remit and pardon all the aforesaid articles, and all other crimes and offences whatsoever. It concludes with a clause to this effect :

fect: "Willing that all men should know, that although we have granted to the Bishop of Winchester the said pardons and graces, nevertheless we do not think the said Bishop to be in any wise chargeable, in the sight of God, with any of the matters thus by us pardoned, remitted, or released unto him; but do hold him to be, as to all and every of them, wholly innocent and guiltless." The King likewise granted him a full remission of the burthens which had been imposed on him, on the restitution of his Temporalities. An end was thus put to this troublesome prosecution against Wykeham; but the loss which he sustained in this affair, is said in the whole to have amounted to ten thousand marks.

Immediately after the coronation of Richard, a great Council of the Lords and Prelates, being assembled to settle the administration of affairs, nominated a Regency during the minority of the King, consisting of twelve persons, among whom were the Bishops of London and Sarum, the Earls of Marche, and Arundel, and the Lords Latimer and Cobham. The Duke of Lancaster, who had hitherto had the chief direction of the public affairs, upon this retired in disgust to Kenilworth castle; though he at the same time declared, that he should be ready to assist the young King to the utmost of his power, if his assistance should be necessary. A Parliament was called shortly after, to concert measures for opposing the progress of the French, who had commenced hostilities against England before the death of the late King, and which they still continued; having landed at Hastings, they ravaged the Isle of Wight, and laid the country under grievous contributions. The troops of the French King had also had considerable success against the English forces in Gascony, and other parts of France. On the meeting of the Parliament, the first step the Commons took, was to chuse Sir Peter de la Mare, the great Patriot of the Good Parliament, and who had been unjustly imprisoned a whole year by the Duke of Lancaster, for their Speaker. The Commons afterwards desired, that certain persons of unblemished morals, and undoubted capacity, should be appointed in Parliament, as the King's constant Counsellors, to act in the Administration, and direct the application of the money granted for the prosecution of the French war. Accordingly, nine persons were chosen by the Lords, and sworn of the Council. Alice Perrers was also condemned to banishment in this Parliament, and all her estates forfeited. And the Commons gave a particular evidence of their regard for the Bishop of Winchester, by petitioning the King to ratify and confirm his pardon; which was done accordingly under the Great Seal.

The management of the public affairs succeeded very ill in those hands to which it was intrusted by the Parliament, notwithstanding the care which seemed to have been taken in settling the Administration: For the people found no easement of

their taxes, nor any retrenchment of the public expences. The demands for the national services increased, the Treasury was exhausted, and the King in debt. The war was very indifferently conducted, and the Duke of Lancaster had made a very unsuccessful expedition into Brittany. The Commons, therefore, in the Parliament which met in 1380, having petitioned for a redress of several grievances, and that the behaviour of the King's Officers and Ministers might be inspected and examined, the King and Council, in full Parliament, appointed sixteen Commissioners, to examine the Officers and their accounts, to survey and inspect the revenues of the King and kingdom, and to examine into the fees of Officers under the late King, annuities granted by him, and the like; and to certify the result of their inquiries to the King and Council. Wykeham was appointed to be one of these Commissioners. And certainly the Parliament could not have given a stronger proof of their confidence in him, and their conviction of the uprightness of his Administration under King Edward the Third, than by the appointment of him to be one of the examiners into the abuses of that reign, as well as the present.

Shortly after this, those insurrections happened which were begun in Kent and Essex, and which are commonly known by the name of Wat Tyler's Rebellion. These malecontents having assembled themselves together in such numerous bodies, as to be too formidable to be suppressed by the Civil Power, pulled down the houses of the Nobility and Gentry, put to death all the Justices and Practitioners of the Law who fell into their hands, and committed many other excesses, before they approached London. When they arrived there, being joined by the populace of the city, they burned and levelled to the ground the Duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy, and destroyed all the books, papers, and records in the Temple; and, amongst other outrages, beheaded Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Hales, the Treasurer, upon Tower-Hill. These insurrections were, however, at length quelled by the resolute behaviour of Walworth, the Lord-Mayor, and John Philpot, a public-spirited Alderman of London, aided by a very bold and successful effort of the young King himself, which shewed great courage and presence of mind, and manifested what might have been expected from him, if his natural talents had been cultivated by a proper education. Historians in general have condemned absolutely all the people who were concerned in these insurrections. They, certainly, committed many actions which were totally indefensible. But it is, perhaps, only doing them justice to acknowledge, that they had reason to be discontented. It was the Poll-Tax which gave immediate rise to these tumults: But though this tax fell chiefly upon the common people, and was collected in a very oppressive manner, they had many other just subjects of complaint. The
common

common people in England were, at that time, in a state of great vassalage and subjection to the Lords and Proprietors of the lands, loaded and oppressed with taxes, and in a state of great slavery. However unjustifiable, therefore, some of their proceedings might be, they were certainly contending for that Liberty, to which every man has a natural claim, and of which no power on earth had any right to deprive them. It is easy for the opulent, and those in elevated stations, to talk of the unreasonable discontents of the multitude, and their aptitude to sedition and revolt; but, perhaps, it would appear, upon an impartial inquiry, that there have been few instances of very general risings among the common people, the primary cause of which hath not been the oppressions of the poor, in some way or other, by the Great and Wealthy.

To settle the state of the nation, and to quiet the minds of the people, after these great commotions, a Parliament was called in the beginning of November; and when it was met, the Commons petitioned that certain Prelates and Lords might be appointed to confer with them on the state of the nation: And being required to give in the names of such as they would chuse for this purpose, they named seventeen, and among them the Bishop of Winchester. These Lords had accordingly a conference with the Commons; in which the Commons complained heavily of the badness of the Administration, and of the oppressions sustained by the people. In consequence of these remonstrances of the Commons, nineteen Commissioners were appointed, of whom the Bishop of Winchester was one, to examine into the state and government of the King's person and household, and to provide remedies for abuses. And these Commissioners having accordingly entered upon this inquiry, in the second meeting of the Parliament, the Commons petitioned, that the Officers of the King's Household might be sworn to observe the ordinance and government of the Household, as appointed by the Commissioners; which petition was granted.

But such was the imprudence of Richard, that no regulations of the Parliament, however salutary, were sufficient to put the affairs of the kingdom upon a proper footing. For this weak Prince, by his own authority, would render Acts of Parliament of no effect. Immersed in riot and debauchery, he had neither time nor inclination to attend to the interests of his kingdom. He gave himself up to the direction of a set of worthless persons, who flattered his vices, and plunged him into every species of excess. The Duke of Lancaster retired from Court, rather than mingle with the mean Parasites who surrounded his nephew: And whilst the King was squandering away his revenue upon his flatterers and pleasures, the Queen was acting in the same manner towards her needy and rapacious countrymen.

About this time, the great contest happening between Pope Urban the VIth, and his rival the Anti-Pope, Clement the VIth, and

and the English Court having taken part with Urban, Clement published a Crusade against the English, and commissioned the King of Scotland to execute it. Upon this, agreeable to the usual custom in such cases, the Lords Marchers of the north were ordered by Parliament to go into their respective countries, to fortify their castles, and to be in readiness to defend the borders against the Scots. These Lords therefore petitioned, that part of the supplies raised for the defence of the nation against Scotland, might be allowed them in consideration of this service. And the matter being debated in the House of Peers, the Bishop of Winchester was the principal person who opposed their petition; and, notwithstanding their great power and influence, it was his authority and weight in Parliament which carried the question against them. He alledged, that the lands and honours which they now possessed, had been given them for this very purpose, that they might be enabled to defend the borders, and repel the Scots; and to save the kingdom the trouble and expence of sending forces to those distant parts: That they were, in a condition to perform this service with ease; as their ancestors, who were much less able to do it, had gained many victories over those enemies of their country. Accordingly the Parliament, influenced by these reasons, only granted to these Lords commissions to raise forces, and to make reprisals upon the Scots.

In the year 1382, the Bishops and Clergy being greatly alarmed at the progress which Wickliff's principles and doctrine were daily making, and particularly in the University of Oxford, the Archbishop of Canterbury summoned that Assembly of the Clergy in Black Friars, of which we have had occasion to speak in the life of that Reformer. The tenets of Wickliff were unanimously condemned in this Assembly, some as heretical, and others as erroneous. The Bishop of Winchester assisted at this Assembly, and was, after the Archbishop, the principal person there; as he was also in another Synod of Bishops and Doctors convened at the same place, where Dr. Robert Rygge, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, was cited to appear, for refusing to obey the Archbishop's Mandate, by which he was ordered to assist at the publishing the condemnation of the tenets of Wickliff. The Chancellor was also charged with having, in the most open manner, countenanced and protected those who favoured and propagated the doctrines of Wickliff. Though the Bishop of Winchester assisted at both these Assemblies, it does not particularly appear what share he took in the management of this affair. However, we find that when the Chancellor made his submission to the Archbishop, and begged pardon for his offence, Wykeham strenuously interceded for him, and with much difficulty procured his peace; by which it should seem that the Bishop of Winchester, in this affair, was inclined to mild and gentle methods of procedure.

A reader

A reader of the present age, who hath imbibed Protestant principles, will perhaps be inclined to conceive an unfavourable idea of the character of Wykeham, because he did not really side with those who espoused the principles of Wickliff. He may conclude, that a Prelate of Wykeham's sagacity, could scarcely avoid seeing the force of Wickliff's reasonings against the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome; and may therefore be led to infer, that Wykeham's neglecting to testify his approbation of the doctrines of Wickliff, arose merely from temporal and interested motives. But it should be remembered, that great allowances ought to be made for the prejudices of education. Wykeham had been so much immersed in Civil Affairs, that he had probably had little leisure for any deep researches into matters of Theological Controversy. Indeed, there is great reason to think, that he really and firmly believed the superstitious doctrines of Popery. (*b*) And we shall, perhaps, be the less surprized at this, if we reflect that in those countries where Popery is the established religion, all the learning and genius of a Rollin and a Fenelon, though they lived in a very enlightened age, were insufficient to preserve them from being, not in appearance only, but in reality, the deluded votaries of superstition.

Wykeham, after he was delivered from those troubles in which he had been involved, during the latter part of the reign of King Edward, had applied himself, as much as his other avocations would permit, to the great work of executing his design for his two Colleges. His plan, which was a very noble one, was to provide for the perpetual maintenance and instruction of two hundred scholars, to afford them a liberal support, and to lead them through a perfect course of education; from the first elements of letters, from the lowest class of grammatical learning, through the whole circle of the Sciences, and to the highest degrees in the several Faculties. Wykeham's plan was truly great, and an original in its kind; for he had no example

(*b*) Wykeham seems to have been very superstitiously and particularly inclined to the worship of the Virgin Mary. It is said, that there was in the old church at Winchester an altar dedicated to the blessed Virgin, with her image standing above it: And at this altar a Mass used to be celebrated every morning, which seems to have been much frequented at the time when Wykeham was a boy, and at school at Winchester. Young Wykeham was constant in his daily attendance, and fervent in his devotions, at this Mass: And he seems even then to have chosen the blessed Virgin as

his peculiar Patronsess, and to have placed himself under her protection: And he might possibly afterwards imagine himself indebted to her especial favour, for the various successes which he was blessed with through his life: For he had so great a veneration for the place which was the scene of his early devotions to her, that he caused a chapel or oratory, which was to be his sepulchre and his chantry, to be erected, and dedicated to her, in that part of his own church which he had re-built, and on the very spot where that altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary stood, at which,

example to follow in it ; neither has any person been yet found to follow his generous example, except one, and that a King of England, who has done him the honour to adopt and copy his whole design. (i)

Wykeham had completed and established the Society for his College at Oxford, some years before he began to raise the Building : For he proceeded here in the same method which he took at Winchester. As he began there with forming a private Grammar-School, provided with proper masters, and maintained and supported in the full number of scholars, which he afterwards established in his College ; so at Oxford, in the first place, he formed his Society, appointed them a Governor, allowed them a liberal maintenance, provided them with lodgings, and gave them rules and directions for their behaviour. By this means his beneficence did not lie fruitless and ineffectual, whilst he was employed in making the necessary preparations for the erection of his intended Building. But by thus bestowing his earliest attention in forming and perfecting the principal part of his design, the life and soul, as it were, was ready to inform and animate the body of his College, as soon as it could be finished ; and so the whole system was at once completed in every part of it.

The Building for Wykeham's College at Oxford was finished in 1386 ; and on the 14th of April that year, the Society made their public entrance into it, with much solemnity and devotion, singing Litanies, and marching in procession, with the Cross borne before them. He had several years before obtained the King's Patent, and the Pope's Bull, for the founding of his College. He entitled it, *Sainte Marie College of Winchester in Oxford.*

which, when a youth, he had accustomed himself to pay his devotions, though the situation was very inconvenient with respect to the whole building. He also dedicated to her his two Colleges, and called them by her name ; and over all the principal gates of them, caused himself to be represented as her Votary, in the act of adoration to her. Wykeham seems also to have had a very strong notion of the reasonableness and efficacy of prayers for the dead. It is said, that he always performed this part of the public service of the

church with peculiar intenseness and fervor, even to the abundant effusion of tears. Agreeable to this persuasion, he founded a chantry of five Priests, to pray for the souls of his father and mother only, in the Priory of Suthwyh. He also made a perpetual endowment for an additional Chaplain to celebrate his Obit annually ; and that his soul, and the souls of Edward the Third, of his own parents, and of his benefactors, should be daily recommended in their prayers ; together with some other provisions for the like purpose.

(i) King Henry the Sixth founded his two Colleges of Eton and Cambridge entirely upon Wykeham's plan, whose statutes he transcribed without any material alteration. Whilst this Prince was employed in establishing these foundations, he

visited Winchester College five several times, in order that he might more nearly inspect, and personally examine, the laws, spirit, and good effects of an institution, which he proposed to himself for a model.

Oxford. It was then vulgarly called the New College ; which became in time a sort of proper name for it, and in common use continues to be so to this day. The Society consists of a warden and seventy poor scholars, clerks, students in theology, canon and civil law, and philosophy : Twenty are appointed to the study of laws, ten of them to that of the canon, and ten to that of the civil law ; the remaining fifty are to apply themselves to philosophy (or arts) and theology ; two of them, however, are permitted to apply themselves to the study of medicine, and two likewise to that of astronomy ; all of whom are obliged to be in priests orders within a certain time, except in case of lawful impediment. Besides these, there are ten priests, three clerks, and sixteen boys or choristers, to minister in the service of the chapel. The body of statutes which Wykeham drew up for the use of his College, was a work upon which he bestowed much time and attention. It was the result of great meditation and study, assisted, confirmed, and brought to maturity, by long observation and experience. He began it with the first establishment of his society, and he was continually improving and perfecting it as long as he lived. And accordingly it has always been considered as the most judicious and complete performance in its kind, and as the best model which the founders of colleges in succeeding times had to follow ; and which indeed most of them have either copied, or closely imitated.

Wykeham endowed his College with lands and estates, whose revenues were at that time fully sufficient for the support of it ; and he procured a Bull from the Pope, exempting his College from all jurisdiction, except that of the Bishop of Winchester ; for by his statutes he had appointed his successors the Bishops of Winchester to be the sole visitors of it, recommending it to their protection and patronage. He himself, as long as he lived, cherished his young society with the care and affection of a tender parent, and assisted them with his directions in the management of all their affairs. And from thence he supplied himself with men of learning and abilities, whom he admitted to a more intimate attendance upon him, and by whom he transacted all his business, and whom he rewarded with considerable preferments.

Whilst the Bishop was engaged in building his College at Oxford, he established in proper form his society at Winchester. He gave his College the same name of *Sainte Marie College of Wykehestre*. But he did not begin the building for his College at Winchester till after he had finished his building at Oxford ; and it was finished about six years afterwards. A natural affection and prejudice for the very place which he had frequented in his early days, seems to have determined him in the situation of it ; for the school which Wykeham went to when a boy, was where his College now stands. His school had sub-

sisted near twenty years before his building at Winchester was finished, which was in the year 1393, when the warden and society made their solemn entrance into it. It had been completely established from the first to its full number of seventy scholars, and continued all along to furnish the society at Oxford with proper subjects by election; and till the College was erected, they were provided with lodgings in the parish of St. John upon the hill. The whole society consists of a warden, seventy poor scholars, to be instructed in grammatical learning, ten secular priests perpetual fellows, three priests chaplains, three clerks, and sixteen choristers: And for the instruction of the scholars, a school master, and an under-master, or usher. He left this College at Winchester, as well as that at Oxford, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Winchester.

As Wykeham was not one of those founders of charitable institutions, who avoid parting with any of their wealth till they can hold it no longer, he enjoyed for many years that pleasure, which to a truly generous and benevolent mind is the greatest that can be enjoyed, the pleasure of seeing the good effects of his own beneficence; of observing his Colleges growing up under his eye, and continually bringing forth those fruits of virtue, piety, and learning, which he had reason to expect from them. They continued still to rise in reputation, and furnished the Church and State with many men of eminence and ability in all professions. (A)

Having given this account of these noble institutions of our munificent Prelate, we will now proceed to take a farther view of him in his more public character. In that part of the reign of Richard the Second, of which we have already given an account, Wykeham had neither wholly retired from public affairs, nor been forward to engage in them. He was ready to give his assistance in the public service, whenever it was demanded, and his duty to his country required it. But he does not appear to have been incited to it, by any interested or ambitious views of his own. He maintained the same conduct and reserve throughout this whole reign; but could not avoid being borne away by the tide of public business, farther than his own inclination or prudence would have carried him, in times so difficult and dangerous. Whilst King Richard was immersed in pleasures,

(A) Not long after Wykeham's death, one of his own scholars, whom he had himself seen educated in both his societies, and raised under his inspection, became a follower of his example. This was Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury; who, besides a chantry and hospital, which he built at Higham-Ferrers, the place of his birth, founded like-

wise All Soul's College in Oxford, for the maintenance of forty fellows (besides chaplains, clerks, and choristers); who, according to Wykeham's plan, are appointed twenty-four of them to the study of theology and philosophy, and the remaining sixteen to that of the canon and civil laws.

tures, and surrounded with flatterers, two parties were formed in the kingdom; and the bounds of moderation were little observed by either of them. The King's chief favourites were, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, created by him Marquis of Dublin, and Duke of Ireland; a man whose only merit was a graceful person, and an unlimited compliance with the King's humour: Michael de la Pole, the son of a rich merchant at Kingston upon Hull, made Earl of Suffolk and Chancellor; a man of considerable natural abilities, but who had not sufficient credit and authority for the station to which the King had raised him, nor any other principle than that of using all the methods in his power to establish his own fortune, and maintain his influence over the King: Alexander Nevil, Archbishop of York, and Sir Simon Burley, both men of credit and capacity, but who had neither of them the honesty to make a good use of their influence over the King, by giving him proper advice, and checking him in his excesses. The King himself was naturally open to all the arts of flattery, and wholly subservient to the will of those who had insinuated themselves into his affections. Utterly regardless of public business, he attended to nothing but his pleasures. He loved feasting and jollity, pomp and show, and a multitude of attendants; and his Court was a scene of profusion and extravagance of every kind. (1) The party, who opposed the Court, was headed by the Duke of Gloucester, the youngest of the King's uncles. His brothers, the Dukes of Lancaster and York, may properly be accounted of the same party; but the former was often absent in pursuit of his own foreign interests, and the latter was of an indolent disposition, and little disposed to business. The other leaders of this party were, Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, son to the Duke of Lancaster, the Earl of Arundel, with his brother the Bishop of Ely, and the Earls of Nottingham and Warwick; who for power, abilities, and influence, were the principal Noblemen of the kingdom. This party was favoured by the nation in general; for the murmurs of the people, and the complaints in Parliament of the mismanagement of the revenue, and of the expence of the King's household, had never ceased from almost the beginning of his reign; and were so far from being redressed, that the causes of them were continually increasing. In short, the nation was universally dissatisfied, and called aloud for an impeachment against the Earl of Suffolk.

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(1) The Court of Richard the Second was the most splendid and magnificent of all of that time; and the standing expence of his household greatly exceeded that of any preceding reign. The retainers to the Court, such as daily resorted thither,

and had tables provided for them there, are said to have amounted to ten thousand persons. There were three hundred servants in the kitchen, and every other office was furnished in the same proportion.

The affairs of the kingdom were in this situation, and the French had made great preparations for invading England, when, in the year 1386, a great army being immediately raised for the defence of the kingdom, a Parliament was called to support the necessary expences on this occasion. The Earl of Suffolk, Chancellor, opened the Parliament, by demanding a very large subsidy from the Clergy and Laity. The Parliament made no answer to this demand, but addressed the King to remove the Chancellor and Treasurer from their offices. The King received this address with great indignation, and withdrew to his palace at Eltham in Kent. The Parliament were no sooner acquainted with the King's abrupt retreat, than they appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons to wait upon him, and declare that they could not proceed to public business until the Chancellor should be removed from his office. Richard, incensed at their message, commanded them in an imperious manner to consider and dispatch the business of the nation; and flatly told them, that he would not, at their desire, remove the meanest scullion from his kitchen. But, notwithstanding this haughty declaration, the King found the Parliament so determined, that he was at length obliged to comply with their desires. The Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Keeper of the Privy Seal, were removed from their offices, and the Bishops of Ely and Hereford, and John de Waltham, were put into their places. The Earl of Suffolk was impeached by the Commons, the grants which he had obtained from the King were reversed, and he was committed prisoner to Windsor castle.

The Parliament having proceeded thus far, and being freed from any apprehensions of the French invasion, which had miscarried, brought the King to agree to the appointment of a certain number of Lords and others, who were to be empowered to view and examine the state of the Realm, to remedy all abuses, and to redress all grievances. The persons appointed for this purpose were, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the Abbot of Waltham, the Earl of Arundel, the Lords Cobham, le Scrope, and Devereux. The powers with which these Commissioners were invested, which they were to hold for the space of one year, were so great, that the King was in a manner divested of his authority; and Richard considered it in that light, and therefore determined to get rid of the restraint as soon as possible. It does not appear that Wykeham made any advances himself towards the attainment of the honour of a place in this commission; he seems to have been put into it as one whose reputation would give weight to it; but it is certain that he avoided, as much as possible, making any use of the powers with which he was invested.

The Parliament was no sooner dismissed, than the King released the Earl of Suffolk from his imprisonment, and re-admitted

mitted him into his councils and confidence ; he retained the Duke of Ireland about his person, continued immersed in riot and debauchery, and seemed bent upon revoking every thing which had passed in the last Parliament. Surrounded again with his former favourites, he consulted with them how he might free himself from the restraint laid upon him by Parliament. The scheme which they concerted was, to procure the opinion of all the Judges of the illegality of the commission lately extorted from the King ; to raise a sufficient body of forces to support him in maintaining his prerogative ; and to procure a Parliament, which should be more at his devotion. In order to put this project in execution, all the Judges and Sheriffs of the several counties were summoned to attend the King at Nottingham : The Judges were obliged to give their opinion, that the late commission and statute were null and void, as made against the King's will ; and that all who were concerned in procuring them, were guilty of treason. But as it was not equally easy to prevail upon the Sheriffs to engage for the raising the army, and procuring the Parliament, which the King required, he returned to London, after having declared his designs, without being able to execute them. Upon this, the Duke of Gloucester, with the Earls of Derby, Arundel, Warwick, and Nottingham, raised an army of forty thousand men, and marched to London. Without entering the city, they deputed the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of York, the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, and four others, to the King, to demand that those evil Counsellors, who had interrupted the Commissioners in their proceedings, and caused differences between the King and the Lords of his Council, might be punished as traitors ; protesting, that they meant not to attempt any thing against his person or honour. These Lords, who chose to act as mediators between both parties, endeavoured what they could to reconcile the King to the confederate Lords, and to persuade him to comply with their desires. Richard, unable to resist, and at a loss for any other expedient, appeared to hearken to their advice ; he received the confederate Lords with great solemnity in Westminster-Hall, treated them with seeming friendship, and promised them satisfaction in the next Parliament, which he then appointed. These fair appearances were only intended to amuse the Lords, while the Duke of Ireland was raising an army for the King in Wales and Cheshire. The confederate Lords, when they heard he was coming against them, detached a part of their army to meet him, under the command of the Earl of Derby, who entirely defeated him at Radcott-Bridge in Oxfordshire. The King was so alarmed at this blow, that he betook himself to the Tower of London ; and after many collusions with the Lords, he was obliged to give up his Confederates, and to meet them in Parliament. The Parliament met accordingly, and several persons were impeached in

in it, particularly the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, and the Archbishop of York; who all three, having made their escape, were attainted and outlawed: Other persons were executed, and some banished.

But notwithstanding the King had been thus compelled to comply with the Parliament, he was resolved to shake off the restraint which had been laid upon him, as soon as a proper opportunity should offer. Accordingly, the beginning of the next year seeming more favourable to his designs, he summoned a Council at Westminster, and being then upwards of twenty-one years of age, he declared himself of full age in form; and informed the Lords, that he should now take the reins of government into his own hands, and chuse such officers to serve him as he should think most expedient; and that therefore he would discharge all those who were at present in office under him. He then ordered the Chancellor to deliver up to him the Great Seal, displaced others of the chief officers of State who had been appointed by Parliament, and removed from the Council-Board his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, and several others of the principal Nobility. The King offered the Great Seal to the Bishop of Winchester, who did all he could to excuse himself from the acceptance of it. For Wykeham neither desired the office itself, nor was pleased with the circumstances in which it was offered to him: But the King pressed it upon him in such a manner, that he could not refuse it; and the next day the Bishop, much against his inclination, was again constituted Chancellor of England.

Wykeham appears clearly to have had no share in advising the bold and hazardous step which the King had taken. However, being now at the head of his counsels, he seems to have used his utmost endeavours to correct and soften it, and prevent the ill consequences which might be apprehended from it. Proclamations were accordingly issued forth, calculated to compose and quiet the minds of the people. And when the Parliament met in the beginning of the year 1390, Wykeham, as Chancellor of England, opened it by a speech; in which, among other things, he declared it was the intention of the King to rule his subjects in peace, equity, and justice; and that they should enjoy their liberties, franchises, and privileges, in time to come, as they had enjoyed them in the times of his noble progenitors, the Kings of England. And as soon as the necessary forms of opening the Parliament were over, the new Ministry took another measure, calculated to obviate any complaints against the King's late proceedings. The Bishop of Winchester, as Chancellor, the Treasurer, and all the Lords of the Council, prayed the King in Parliament to be discharged of their offices, in consideration of the great labours and expences they had undergone therein, and to have others placed in them. The King accordingly accepted of their resignations; and
when

when they had received their discharge, they required openly, that if any person would complain of any thing unduly done by them, he should declare it to the King in Parliament. The Commons required to be allowed till the next day to consider of the matter; at which time they, together with the Lords, affirmed, that after diligent enquiry they had found all things to have been very well done; and the Commons returned them thanks in full Parliament for their fidelity and good conduct. Upon which the King reinstated the Chancellor and Treasurer in their offices, and restored all his late Counsellors, and together with them the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, to the Council-Board: The former had lately returned, after three years absence, from his Spanish expedition, (m) and had effected a reconciliation between the King and the Duke of Gloucester. And the November following, another Parliament being called, was again opened with a speech by Wykeham as Chancellor; in which he acquainted them, that a truce was concluded between the Courts of France and England, and that a negotiation was on foot for a treaty of peace between them.

Wykeham had used his endeavours, and had happily succeeded in restoring the public tranquillity, and had the satisfaction of leaving things in a promising situation, when he quitted the office of Chancellor, by delivering the Great Seal to the King in September, 1391, after having been in possession of it upwards of two years and four months. But it does not appear what motives, either on the part of Wykeham, or the King, occasioned this removal or resignation. However, Arundel, Archbishop of York, whom he had succeeded in that office, was now made Chancellor again in his place.

Notwithstanding the tranquil state of the public affairs at Wykeham's removal, such was the weakness and arbitrary disposition of Richard, that he would not suffer them long to continue so. He considered his power and dignity as precarious, while they depended on the authority of Parliament; and his chief aim, therefore, was to set himself above all opposition and resistance. To forward his views, he precipitated a truce for thirty years with the King of France, and married a daughter of that Monarch, though only seven years of age. He also found means to cause the Duke of Gloucester, his uncle, who opposed his arbitrary designs, to be seized, and conveyed away to Calais, and afterwards to be there privately murdered. He even succeeded so far in his designs, as to procure a Parliament, the

(m) John of Ghent, in 1371, married Constance, daughter of Pedro, King of Castile; and Pedro being dead, the Duke assumed, in virtue of his wife's right, the arms and title of King of Castile and Leon,

and accordingly was several times out of England for a considerable time, being engaged in expeditions to support his claim to the kingdom of Castile.

the majority of the Members of which were base enough to give their sanction to his measures. Wykeham excused himself from attending on this Parliament, on account of ill health and infirmities, and sent his Procurators thither to act for him. This infamous Parliament went so far as to devolve, by statute, the whole power of the Parliament upon the King, twelve Lords, and six of the Commons; or any six of the former, and any three of the latter. Shortly after the Duke of Hereford, son to the Duke of Lancaster, having charged the Duke of Norfolk with speaking seditious words of the King, the truth of which charge was denied by Norfolk, it was decreed by the Committee of Parliament, that, for want of sufficient evidence, the dispute should be decided by single combat, according to the laws of chivalry. But just as the combatants were ready to engage, the King commanded them to desist, and, by way of settling the affair, banished the Duke of Hereford for six years, and the Duke of Norfolk for life. The Duke of Lancaster dying the following year, his son the Duke of Hereford should of course have succeeded to his title and estate; but Hereford being in exile, Richard arbitrarily caused the estate of the late Duke of Lancaster to be seized for his own use. Indeed, Richard seemed to think himself, by the death of his uncle, freed from all manner of restraint; for he plunged into every species of effeminate debauchery, and profligate profusion; to support which, he employed the most unjust and illegal methods of raising money. In short, his oppressions were so great and intolerable, and his administration so contemptible, that the whole nation turned their eyes upon the Duke of Lancaster, as the only person from whom they could expect redress. This Prince possessed considerable talents, and was very popular; and therefore having received proper overtures from England, set out for thence from Nantes, while Richard was engaged on an expedition into Ireland, whither he went to revenge the death of the Earl of Marche, the presumptive heir to the Crown, who had been slain by the native Irish. Richard had made himself so much detested by his subjects, and was so entirely deserted by them, that though he returned from Ireland, Lancaster had in a very short time collected an army of an hundred thousand fighting men; and in seven and forty days made himself master of all England, without the least opposition, except from the garrison of Bristol castle. In consequence of this, Richard was reduced to the necessity of resigning his Crown; and was in a formal manner deposed by the Parliament, and Henry, Duke of Lancaster, placed on the Throne in his stead.

It does not appear that Wykeham had any hand in this important affair, any otherwise than by his presence in that Parliament, in which the whole business of Richard's deposition was transacted. And the first Parliament of Henry the Fourth being summoned a few days after, the Bishop assisted at that also.

Shortly

Shortly after, a solemn Council of the Lords in Parliament was held by the King's command; and the question proposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a strict injunction of secrecy, was, What was to be done with the late King Richard, so that he might be safely guarded, and his life preserved? They were severally asked their opinions; and they advised, that he should be kept under safe and secret guard in some retired place: In pursuance of which advice, Richard was adjudged to perpetual imprisonment. The names of all the Lords who gave this advice are expressed in the record; but the Bishop of Winchester is not among the number, though he at this time resided at his palace at Southwark. His many obligations and great attachment to the father and grandfather of Richard, as well as his personal obligations to that unhappy Prince himself, might have rendered his attendance on this occasion both improper and disagreeable. This was the last Parliament which Wykeham attended in person; for he always afterwards sent Procurators to excuse his absence, on account of his age and infirmities. Soon after the dismissal of the Parliament, the Scots, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the nation, began to commence hostilities on the borders of the kingdom. On which King Henry, in order to enable himself to undertake an expedition into Scotland in person, summoned a great Council of Lords and Prelates; who, in consideration of the urgency of the case, granted the King an aid of themselves, without obliging him to call a Parliament. The Bishop of Winchester was summoned to this Council, and assisted at it; and it appears to have been the last public transaction in which he was concerned.

Our Prelate was now very far advanced in years. He had from his youth been constantly engaged in a multiplicity of business, of the greatest importance, both of a public and private nature; and which he had attended with the utmost assiduity and application; for he had been blessed with a very vigorous constitution, and had enjoyed an uncommon share of health: But he was at length obliged, by the infirmities of age, to have recourse to retirement and ease. During the two first years of King Henry the fourth's reign, it appears that Wykeham continued from time to time to remove from one to another of his palaces in the country, as he had been used to do. And the first remarkable indication of his weakness of body, was in May 1401, when he was not able to undergo the fatigue of administering Ordination; but, though present himself, was obliged to procure another Bishop to ordain for him; and which he was forced to do ever after. At the end of this year he retired to South-Waltham, and never removed from thence, except once or twice, on account of some particular business, and that no farther than to Winchester

Above ten years before this, Wykeham had procured a Bull from the Pope, authorizing him, in consideration of his age and infirm state of health, to assume to himself one or more coadjutors, without the advice and consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or of the Chapter of Winchester, and to remove them as he should think proper. By this precaution he prevented any disagreeable interpositions of authority, which might have been troublesome to him at the close of his life. The Bishop did not find himself under a necessity of making use of this power before the two last years of his life; when he produced the Pope's Bull, and in virtue of it appointed Dr. Nicholas Wykeham and Dr. John Elmer to be his coadjutors; and from that time all business proceeded with their consent, and by their authority. Being by this means in a great degree relieved from constant attendance on the duties of his charge, he devoted his time and application to the disposal of his temporal goods, and to the care of his spiritual concerns. He signed his will in July, 1403. The number of his legacies, and the great exactness with which he ordered every thing relative to them, which must have required much attention, evidently shews the vigour of mind which he still enjoyed. And as it was not the custom of Wykeham to defer doing a generous or munificent action to another day, when he had the present ability, and the immediate opportunity of performing it; so now when he was come to a final determination in what manner to dispose of the remainder of his riches, he began himself to fulfil his own intentions; and in many instances distributed his legacies with his own hands, and became the executor of his own will. This made it necessary for him some time afterwards to add a codicil to it, by which he declared these articles to be fully discharged, and acquitted his executors of all demands on account of them.

Wykeham having thus finally settled his affairs, and being full eighty years of age, waited, with piety and resignation, the hour of his dissolution. He appears to have sunk by a gentle and gradual decay; for, though weak in body, he retained to the last all the faculties of his mind. And ever since he had taken his coadjutors to his assistance, he had still continued personally to attend and direct his affairs, both public and private, as he had used to do before; admitting all persons, who had business to transact with him, to his upper chamber. This practice he was able to continue at least till within four days of his death. He died at South-Waltham, on the 27th of September, in the year 1404.

He was buried, agreeable to his own directions, in his own Oratory, in the cathedral church of Winchester. His funeral was attended by a great concourse of people of all sorts, many out of respect to his memory, and many of the poorer sort, in order to be made partakers of his bounty, which was still stretched out to them. For he had ordered by his will, that in
whatever

whatever place he should happen to die, and through whatever places his body should be carried, between the place of his death, and the cathedral church of Winchester, in all these places to every poor tenant, that had held of him there as Bishop of Winchester, should be given, to pray for his soul, Four-pence; and to every other poor person asking alms, Two-pence, or one Penny at least, according to the discretion of his executors: And that on the day of his burial, to every poor person coming to Winchester, and asking alms for the love of God, and for the health of his soul, should be given Four pence.

The other bequests in his will are very numerous. The following are some of the most remarkable:—To the poor in the prisons of Newgate, London, the Marshalsea, Wolvefy, Winchester, Oxford, Berkshire, Guildford, Old and New Sarum, he ordered to be distributed the sum of two hundred pounds: This was one of those charitable bequests which he anticipated in his life-time.—To the Prior of Winchester, plate to the value of twenty pounds; and to every Monk of the convent, being priests, five marks; and to every one of them in lower orders, forty shillings, to pray for his soul.—To each of the wardens of his colleges at Winchester and Oxford, ten marks, and plate to the value of twenty marks; the latter to be transmitted to their successors.—To every fellow, chaplain, and scholar, of his college in Oxford, from twenty-six shillings and eight-pence, to thirteen shillings and four-pence, according to their orders and degrees.—To the schoolmaster of Winchester college, five pounds; to each of the fellows, twenty-six shillings and eight-pence; to the usher, and each of the chaplains, twenty shillings; and to each of the scholars, six shillings and eight-pence.—To fifteen of his kindred, from one hundred to twenty pounds a piece, in the whole, 823l. 6s. 8d.—Besides these, and many other donations to Monks and Nuns of several orders, and other persons, he ordered by his will legacies in money and plate to a great number of his friends, officers, and servants; the greater part of which, to upwards of an hundred and fifty persons, he discharged in his life-time, and had the pleasure of distributing with his own hands. The whole value of the bequests in his will amounted to between six and seven thousand pounds. He left Sir Thomas Wykeham, his great-nephew, his heir; whom he had before put into possession of manors and estates, to the value of six hundred marks a year.

It is impossible to delineate the character of Wykeham, with any degree of precision or exactness; as so few particulars of his private and domestic life are transmitted down to us; from which only an accurate judgment of him could be formed. For, as his ingenious Biographer, Dr. Lowth, remarks, “The peculiar and distinguishing characters of men are much better conceived, and more accurately marked, from little circumstances

stances and incidents in private life, than from a long series of actions in a public station: These may raise in us an high idea of a great and good man, and strike us with a distant admiration of his abilities and his virtues; but 'tis by the former that we are introduced to his acquaintance, that we learn his particular turn, his temper, his humours, his failings, as well as his amiable qualities, and become in a manner intimate and familiar with him." Wykeham appears to have been distinguished in his early youth for his piety and diligence; though his piety appears always to have been much tinged with the superstition of the times. He raised himself from a low condition by his abilities, industry, and fidelity; and by his accomplishments gained the particular favour of the illustrious King Edward the Third, and his son the heroic Prince of Wales. He evidently possessed a great spirit of benevolence; and, besides his numerous donations, one strong evidence of it is, that we find the list of his friends, officers, and domestics, almost invariably the same; all receiving in their turns testimonies of his favour, and rewards of their services; never leaving him, nor ever being deserted by him. He gave a proof of the generosity of his temper, at his first entrance upon the Bishopric of Winchester, by remitting to his poor tenants certain acknowledgments, usually paid and due by custom, to the amount of 50*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* To several officers of the Bishopric, who were grown poor, and become objects of his liberality, he at different times remitted sums due to him, to the amount of two thousand marks. He paid for his tenants three several times the subsidies granted to the King by Parliament. From the time of his being made Bishop of Winchester, he abundantly provided for a certain number of poor, twenty-four at the least, every day; not only feeding them, but also distributing money among them, to supply their necessities of every kind. He continually employed his friends, and those that attended upon him, to seek out the properest objects of his charity; to search after those whose modesty would not yield to their distresses, nor suffer them to apply for relief; and his beneficence administered largely to all their wants. His hospitality was large, constant, and universal: His house was open to all, crowded by the poor and indigent, as well as frequented by the rich and great. He was ever attentive and compassionate to such as were imprisoned for debt; he enquired into their circumstances, compounded with their creditors, and procured their release. In this article of charity he expended three thousand marks. (*)

Our

(*) Wykeham appears to have been of a very different character from some modern Prelates; who, instead of employing their large revenues in those uses for which they were originally given them, namely, in living in an hospitable and generous manner, and in actions of charity

Our Prelate was remarkably public-spirited. He repaired and amended the roads between London and Winchester, and in many other places where they were bad, and almost impassable; making causeys, and building bridges, at a vast expence. He repaired a great number of churches of his diocese, which were gone to decay; and almost entirely rebuilt the cathedral church of Winchester. As a Statesman, his genius for business appears to have been strong and universal. He was endowed by nature with a great capacity, and his industry had furnished him with a large stock of knowledge, which enabled him to fill the several important posts he held with propriety and dignity.

"We frequently hear of men, (says Dr. Lowth) who by the force of their genius, industry, and good fortune, have raised themselves from the lowest stations to the highest degrees of honour, power, and wealth; but how seldom do we meet with those, who have made a proper use of the advantages which they have thus happily acquired, and considered them as deposited in their hands by Providence, for the general benefit of mankind? In this respect Wykeham stands an uncommon, and almost singular example, of generosity and public spirit. By the time that he had reached the meridian of life, he had acquired great wealth; and the remainder of his days he employed, not in increasing it to no reasonable end, but in bestowing it in every way that piety, charity, and liberality, could devise. The latter half of a long life he spent in one continued series of generous actions and great designs, for the good of his friends, of the poor, and of his country."———"The foundation of his colleges, the principal monuments of his munificence, was as well calculated for the real use of the Public, and as judiciously planned, as it was nobly and generously executed. And whatever Wykeham's attainments in letters were, he had at least the good sense to see, that the Clergy, though they had almost engrossed the whole learning of that age, yet were very deficient in real and useful knowledge.———The deliberation with which he entered upon his design for his colleges, and the constant attention with which he pursued it for above thirty years, shews how much he set his heart upon the success of his undertaking, and how earnestly he endeavoured to secure the effectual attainment of the end proposed, the promotion of true piety and learning. In a word, as he was in his own time a general blessing to his country, in which his bounty was freely imparted to every object that could come within the reach of his influence, so the memory of this great man merits the universal regard of posterity, as of one whose pious and munificent designs

rity and beneficence, contrive to live in a private and retired manner, in order to accumulate fortunes; and very seldom give any example them-

selves of that benevolence which they sometimes preach (when they do preach) to others.

signs were directed to the general Good of mankind, and were extended to the latest ages."

The ornaments of Wykeham's Oratory in Winchester cathedral are destroyed, except his Monument, which remains there entire to this day. It is of white marble, with his effigies lying along upon it, and also the following inscription in Latin verse :

*WILHELMUS diæus WYKEHAM jacit hic nec victus :
Istius ecclesiæ præsul, reparavit eamque.
Largus erat, dapifer ; probat hoc cum diuite pauper :
Consilii pariter regni fuerat bene dexter.
Hunc docet esse pium fundatio Collegiorum :
Oxoniæ primum stat, Wintoniæque secundum.
Jugiter oretis, tumulum quicumque videtis,
Pro tantis meritis ut fit sibi vita perennis.*

Which may be thus rendered into English : " Here lies
" WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, Bishop of this diocese, and
" who repaired and beautified this cathedral. He was bounti-
" ful and hospitable ; the poor partook largely of his libera-
" lity. He was very skilful in the management of the public
" affairs of the kingdom. The founding his two Colleges of
" Oxford and Winchester evidence his piety. Continually pray
" ye, who behold this tomb, that he who possessed such great
" merits, may enjoy eternal felicity." (o)

(o) It may not be improper here to take notice of what appears to be the meaning of Wykeham's well-known motto to his arms, *Manners makyth Man*. " The true meaning of which, says Dr. Lowth, I presume to be, though it has commonly been understood otherwise, That a man's real worth is to be estimated, not from the outward and accidental advantages of birth, rank, and fortune, but

from the endowments of his mind, and his moral qualifications. Wykeham, conscious to himself that his claim to honour was unexceptionable, as founded upon truth and reason, he in a manner makes his appeal to the world ; alledging, that neither high birth, to which he makes no pretensions, nor high station, upon which he does not value himself, but

" *Virtue alone is true Nobility.*"



The Life of JOHN GOWER.

THERE is no absolute certainty either in what year, or in what part of England, our Poet was born. Leland is of opinion, and he has been much followed by later writers, that he was descended from the ancient family of the Gowers of Stitenham, in Yorkshire ; but there is reason to believe that opinion is not well founded. And Caxton and Barthelette, the first printers of his *Confessio Amantis*, affirm him to be a native of Wales. But however that be, it appears that he was born before Chaucer, though probably not any considerable time ; and it is certain, that of whatever family he was, he came into the world with considerable advantages, and had a liberal education, though it is uncertain in what place he received it. Some writers have thought it probable, that he was bred at Oxford, and at Merton College. However, it appears that after leaving the University, he removed to the Middle-Temple, in order to study the law ; agreeable to the custom of those times, when gentlemen ordinarily finished their education in the Inns of Court. A custom certainly founded upon the justest principles ; for in every nation, especially under a free and popular form of government, the knowledge of the laws of the country is a very important part of a well-regulated education.

It is said that Gower applied himself with so much diligence and success to the study of the law, that he became very eminent in that profession. This study, however, did not entirely engross his attention ; he was well read in polite literature, and had an excellent taste therein, particularly for Poetry, upon which he spent many of his leisure hours. It was, probably, this part of his character which first introduced him to the knowledge and acquaintance of Chaucer, and which afterwards grew into a very warm friendship. It has been observed, that several circumstances conspired to unite these two fathers of the English Poetry. There was a great similarity in their tempers ; and though Gower was the elder man, yet it seems probable that there was not any considerable difference between their ages. Another circumstance, which might contribute to strengthen their attachment, is, that they were both of the same party. Chaucer had addiſſed himself to John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster, one of the uncles of King Richard the second ; and Gower adhered with equal steadiness to Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, another of the King's uncles.

Gower

Gower also saw with indignation the vices of the Clergy of those times, and censured them with freedom, as well as Chaucer. The intimacy between them occasioned them frequently to confer together about their works; and on these occasions they would sometimes rally each other, and sometimes argue with warmth; but it was without anger, and without pique. The only real dispute between them, says Leland, was which should honour the other most. (p)

Gower possessed a very considerable degree of learning, for the time in which he lived. And he had a great genius for Poetry, in which he endeavoured to accommodate the severest sentiments to the sweetest language. He tried this (according to the notions of those times) with success, in the French tongue. This led him to attempt imitating Ovid, but (says Leland) with more pains than profit. However, this had a good effect; for it induced him to try what he could do in his own language, and in this he was more successful; for in his poetical attempts in English, he acquitted himself harmoniously and happily.

But

(p) Chaucer, at the close of his poem of Troilus and Cresside, has these words:

O moral Gower, this boke I directe
To the, and to the philosophicall
Strode,
To vouchsafe there nede is for to
correcte
Of your benignities and zelis
gode.

Which in more modern language
may be read thus,

O moral Gower! this little book
I send
To thee, and to the philosophic
Stroud,
Perfect what's right, what's wrong
in it amend,
As friends to me, and furtherers of
good.

Gower, on the other hand, in his *Confessio Amantis*, introduces Venus speaking to him thus:

— Grete well Chaucer, whan ye
mete,
As my discipule and my poete,
For in the flours of his youth,
In fondrie wise, as he well couth
Of decees, and of songes glade,
The which he for my sake made,

The longe fulfilled is over all;
Whereof to him in speciall
Above all other I am most holde.
For thy nowe in his daies olde
Thou shalt hym tell this message,
That he upon his later age,
To sette an ende of all his werke,
As he whiche is myn owne clerke,
Do make his *testament of love*,
As thou hast done thy shrifte above,
So that my court it may recorde.

The sense in modern English.

Great Chaucer when you him next
see,
My pupil and my poet he,
Who in his youth sit age for song,
Of tales and ditties sweet a throng,
Made for my sake, and with his lays
Through all this island spread my
praise;
For which, as merit still should rise,
Him beyond other bards I prize.
But now his silver locks appear,
To him from me this message bear;
That as my own especial clerk,
Of genius th' expiring spark,
Shall breathe his *testament of love*,
As thou hast done thy shrift * above.

* Alluding to the *Confessio Amantis*.

But notwithstanding Gower's inclination and genius for Poetry, he did not neglect his graver studies. On the contrary, he applied himself so diligently to the study of the law, as to acquire considerable reputation as a lawyer; which reputation was no way diminished by his poetical performances. For they were of so grave and moral a turn, as to occasion him to be particularly distinguished by the name of the MORAL GOWER; a title which is said he first received from his friend Chaucer. His pieces shewed that he had not only escaped the infection of the luxurious times in which he lived, but had also the courage and virtue to attempt stopping the tide of corruption; and he took that method of doing this which appeared the most likely to succeed, namely, instilling principles of morality and good sense under the garb of pleasant tales. For this Gower gained the applause of the most valuable and discerning part of mankind in his own times, and deserves also the applause of posterity; for wit and learning are never more laudably employed, than when they are engaged in the interests of virtue.

As a poet, Gower was known to King Richard the second; whose favour he had so far gained, that when that Prince was one day taking his diversion on the Thames, and our author was in a boat near him, the King sent for him into his barge, and honoured him with his command to exercise his poetical talent upon some subject for his entertainment. In consequence of this command, he produced his *Confessio Amantis*. This performance is a kind of poetical system of morality, interspersed with weighty sentences, excellent maxims, and shrewd sayings; but far the greatest part composed of pleasant stories, judiciously introduced as instances or examples in support of the virtuous doctrine delivered. It is written in English verse, and is divided into eight books. The seventh book contains an abridgment of Aristotle's philosophy, from whence he takes occasion to give the King a great deal of good advice, and that upon very delicate subjects, with much dignity and freedom. Gower himself informs us, in his second prologue to this work, printed in the first edition, that there being then few men who wrote in English, he determined to write this book in our own tongue, for the general use of his countrymen. It seems, however, that this work was not finished long before the deposition of King Richard. (o)

N

It

(o) William Caxton, in 1483, printed an edition of the *Confessio Amantis*, which bears the following title: ' *Confessio Amantis*; that is to saye, in Englysshe, *The Confession of the Lover*, made and compyled by Johan Gower, squire, borne in Walye, in the tyme of King Richard the second. Which book treteth,

' how he was confessyd to Genyus
' preest of Venus, upon the causes
' of love, in his five wyttes, and fe-
' ven dedely synnes, &c. with divers
' hystories and fables, touching every
' matere compyled therein.' The
reader will observe, that in this title, Caxton, who lived nearer the time of Gower than any writer of his life, expressly

It appears that Gower made a considerable figure as a lawyer ; and it is said by some writers, that he was raised to the first rank in that profession, being made chief Justice of the Common Pleas. But this seems to be rather uncertain ; however, it is certain that he was much distinguished for his knowledge in the law. He was particularly attached to the service of Thomas of Woodstocke, first Earl of Buckingham, and then Duke of Gloucester ; and he probably belonged to that Prince in the way of his profession. For at that time, not only the King and Prince of Wales, but all the Princes of the blood, had their standing Council learned in the law, who were heard in Parliament, in case any bill was read, that might be detrimental to their interests ; and it is not unlikely that Gower was this Prince's Chancellor, *that is*, the chief of his lawyers, and he who directed how justice was to be administered, and his prerogative maintained in his honours, lordships, and manors. This Prince being at the head of those who took up arms against Richard and his favourites, in 1387, of which some account was given in the preceding life, the King ordered him to be seized and imprisoned at Calais, where he was afterwards murdered. And as Gower was steadily attached to this Prince, this transaction could not but create in him a dislike to the administration of Richard ; though indeed if our Poet had been no way affected with this tragical event, he must, as a friend to the interests of his country, have been greatly disgusted with the imprudent and tyrannical government of that unhappy Monarch. But it appears, that Gower was much concerned for the cruel murder of his patron, the Duke of Gloucester ; whose death he pathetically lamented in his *Vox Clamantis* and *Chronica Fripartita*. And he did not fail to lay before King Richard the luxury that prevailed in his Court, the danger of listening to flatterers, the wickedness of corrupt Judges, and the instability of human glory and happiness, when Monarchs, as was his case, gave way to the cruellest oppressions of the people.

When

expressly says that he was born in Wales, agreeable to what has been already observed in the text. He also calls him only an Esquire, whereas many writers have said that he was a Knight.—Barthelette also printed three several editions of the *Confessio Amantis*. The first was in 1532. This printer, who was a man of parts and learning, in his dedication of his edition of this work to King Henry VIII. observes of it, that it abounds with ' eloquent reasons, ' sharp and quicke argumentes, and ' examples of great authoritie, per-

' swadyng unto vertue, not only
' taken out of the poets, orateurs,
' historie writers, and philosophers,
' but also out of the Holy Scriptures.
' There is no man (continues he)
' but that he maie by readinge of
' this worke get righte great know-
' ledge, as well for the understand-
' ynge of many and diverse auctours,
' whose reasons, sayenges, and histo-
' ries, are translated into this worke,
' as for the plentie of English words
' and vulgars, besides the furtherance
' of the life to vertue.'

When Richard the Second was deposed, and King Henry the Fourth had got possession of the throne, Gower appeared warmly on the side of the revolution. And accordingly, to his *Vox Clamantis*, which is a kind of chronicle or history of the insurrection of the Commons, in the reign of Richard, which he comprized in seven books, in Latin verse, (*p*) he added several historical pieces; and, in particular, a chronicle of the deposition of King Richard II. and the coronation of King Henry IV. in three parts, in which he has been thought to bear too hard upon the memory of Richard, and to bestow too many encomiums upon Henry. He also made some alterations in his *Confessio Amantis*, which had been dedicated originally to Richard, and inscribed a kind of second edition of it to King Henry.

Indeed, Gower has been treated with great harshness by many writers on this account. He has been represented as having, in an ungrateful manner, trampled upon and insulted the memory of his murdered master and generous benefactor, Richard the Second, in order to pay his Court to King Henry. But this harsh censure of Gower does not appear to be founded upon any very just grounds. For in order to place Gower's actions in the worst point of view, much is said of his obligations to King Richard; but what those obligations were, does not appear. All that is particularly specified in this respect, is Richard's calling him into his barge, and requesting him to write a book, which our Poet accordingly performed, and in which he gave the King very good advice; and surely this was not an obligation conferred upon Gower of so high a nature, as to preclude him from the liberty of speaking the truth of Richard after his death, without incurring the imputation of ingratitude. And what Gower has said of that Prince, was evidently no more than the truth, and indeed much less than he might have said of him with the utmost justice. The unhappy end of that Monarch may excite pity in the humane breast, and in some degree throw a veil over his faults; but it must be at the same time remembered, that his reign was scarcely distinguished by any thing but imprudence, extravagance, and tyranny. (*q*) The following

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is

(*p*) There is a manuscript copy of this work in the Bodleian library, and more than one in that of All Soul's college. At Oxford there is also a very beautiful manuscript of it, with an epistle in Latin verse, addressed to Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury. And in the Cotton library there is a correct copy of it; of the title of which the following

is a translation: 'The chronicle of John Gower, commonly called *Vox Clamantis*, the voice of one crying in the wilderness; or, a Poem on the insurrection of the clowns against the gentry and nobility, in the time of King Richard II. and of the causes that gave rise to those enormous actions.'---This work was never printed.

(*q*) An account hath been given of the deposition of King Richard II.

in the life of Wykeham. The manner in which this unfortunate Monarch

is a translation of those lines of Gower on King Richard's death, at which such great umbrage has been taken; with what justice the reader may judge.

" The reign of Richard, who the sceptre bore,
 " Of England's Monarchs, not as heretofore
 " With spotless honour, for though crowds proclaim
 " His deeds, yet from those deeds result no fame.
 " He's gone, and of his greatness all we find,
 " The mem'ry of his faults is left behind,
 " His honour soil'd, his praise to censure turn'd,
 " And all his claim to royal glory scorn'd.
 " Be this a warning unto those who rule,
 " If wise, they'il learn in Providence's school,
 " Those who live ill, Heav'n meant not to command,
 " Or spread their vile examples through the land.
 " The fate of Richard, hapless, hopeless youth,
 " Proves, but too plainly, this important truth.
 " Like to his life a doom he justly shares,
 " And what that life this chronicle declares."

Gower composed several other pieces besides those which have been mentioned; and from the general strain and tenor of them, he appears to have been a person of great integrity and real piety. One who placed religion not in ceremonies, but in actions; and who laboured to convince mankind, that the practice of virtue was their truest interest, as well as their highest honour. It must be owned, that his thoughts are now more to be valued than his expression; but, as Leland observes, even his expression is equal, if not superior, to any of those who attempted

narch ended his days, is somewhat uncertain, being very differently related by different historians. It appears, that some time after Henry's accession, a design was formed by several of the Nobility, among whom were the Dukes of Exeter, Surry, and Aumerle, and the Earls of Gloucester and Salisbury, to restore Richard to the throne. But this conspiracy being discovered before the conspirators had time to take the proper measures for putting it in execution, and in consequence the design ending in nothing but the ruin of those concerned in it, it is said by some writers, that when King Richard was informed that the Noblemen who had taken up arms for his restoration, had been subdued and put to death, he took it so much to heart, that he refused all nourishment, and died of voluntary famine in the castle of Pontefract. This is the account

which Gower gives of the death of Richard, in that chronicle of his which hath been already mentioned. Others say that he was murdered at the instigation of King Henry, by Sir Peter of Exeter, accompanied by eight ruffians, against whom he very gallantly defended himself, and slew some of the assassins. But others affirm, that with hunger and cold, and other unheard of cruelties, his enemies contrived to remove him out of the way. However, in one or other of these tragical methods did this unhappy Prince end his days. A Prince who ascended the throne with the acclamations of the people, and who would probably have reigned long and happily, had it not been for his weak attachment to favourites, his unbounded luxury and extravagance, and his desire of rendering himself arbitrary.

tempted Latin poetry in his time. And it is plain from the writings of Gower, that even in seasons of the most dissolute luxury, as those in which he flourished undoubtedly were, there wanted not a remnant of virtuous and intrepid men, who had spirit to oppose a debauched Nobility, a voluptuous Clergy, complying Judges, and a corrupted people.

In the first year of the reign of King Henry the Fourth, our Poet, through the decay of age, was deprived of his eye-sight. This loss he very pathetically lamented, in a " Poem of the commendation of Peace;" in which he took his leave of the muses and the world, in such terms as plainly shewed his full sense of his approaching death. He died in the year 1402, and his remains were interred under a sumptuous tomb in St. John's chapel, on the north side of the church of the convent of St. Mary Overy in Southwark; which church had lain for many years in ruins; to which, with a great part of Southwark, it was reduced by a fire in the beginning of the thirteenth century, but had been re-built by Gower at his own expence, and with contributions which his influence procured. Our Poet also founded a chantry here, and endowed it with a mass, daily to be said for him, and an obit to be performed the day after the feast of St. Gregory.

There are several accounts of the monument which was erected over him in this chapel, and which have given rise to some conjectures concerning his rank. Stowe, in describing it, says, that the image of stone lying upon it, represents him with long auborne hair, reaching to his shoulders, and curling up, a small forked beard, and on his head a chaplet of roses red, four in number, an habit of purple damask, reaching down to his feet, a collar of S. S. gold about his neck, and under his head the likeness of three books which he compiled, *Speculum Meditantis*, in French; *Vox Clamantis*, in Latin; and *Confessio Amantis*, in English.

From another description of this monument, it appears that on the wall also was painted three virgins, representing CHARITY, MERCY, and PITY, with crowns on their heads, and these several devices in their hands:

CHARITY held this device,

*En toy qui es fils de Dieu le pere
Sauve soit qui gist sous cest pierre.*

Through thee, of God, the only Son,
Be sav'd, who rests beneath this stone.

The second, MERCY, held this,

*O bone Jesu fait ta merci
A l'ame, dont le corps gist ici.
O Jesu kind thy mercy shew,
To the soul of him that rests below,*

And

And the third, P I T Y, the following,

*Pur ta pite Jesu regarde,
Et met cest alme en Jaune garde.
For pity's sake sweet Jesu keep,
The soul of him who here doth sleep.*

Near these emblematical figures hung a table with this inscription, " Whosoever praith for the soule of John Gower, he shall so oft, as he so doth, have an M. & D. daies of pardon." The following epitaph was likewise put over him :

*Armigeri scutum nubit a modo fere sibi tutum,
Reddidit immolatum morti generale tributum,
Spiritus exutum si gaudeat esse solutum,
Et ubi virtutum regnum sine labe statutum.*

Which has been thus translated,

His shield henceforth is useles grown,
To pay death's tribute slain,
His soul's with joyous freedom flown,
Where spotless spirits reign. (r)

It is not very material to posterity, whether Gower was a Knight or not ; but some particulars upon this monument have, as we have before observed, given occasion to some debate upon this matter. The ornament of the collar persuaded Leland that he was a Knight ; but Stowe inferred from the same circumstance that he was only an Esquire, the collar of S. S. being put on at the creation of Esquires. But Mr. Anstis having observed that the collar imposed upon such creations was not of gold, as this of Gower's was, but of silver, informs us, that the collar of S. S. which became afterwards a mark of dignity, was originally the cognizance or badge of the House of Lancaster, and was worn by such as were desirous of shewing their attachment to that House. The same author also remarks, that Gower's wearing a swan appendant to his collar, was a proof of his attachment to the Duke of Gloucester. On the whole, therefore, the opinion of Mr. Selden seems to be the best founded, who concludes our Poet to have been only an Esquire from the first words of his epitaph, *Armigeri scutum*, signifying an Esquire's shield.

It is certain that Gower was married, since his wife was buried in the same church with him, and under a monument below his own. But whether he had any, or what issue, is not quite certain.

(r) In the time of Stowe the inscriptions upon this monument of Gower were washed out, and not legible ; and the effigies was also defaced, by cutting off the nose and hands ; but it hath been since repaired, and a new inscription placed.

certain. Mr. Stowe indeed says, that he was grandfather of John Gower, sword-bearer to the unfortunate Prince of Wales, son to King Henry VI. and who with his master lost his life after the battle of Tewksbury, in 1471. But there is some reason to doubt the truth of this. That our Poet was in good, or rather affluent circumstances, appears from his re-building part of the church of St. Mary Overy, and founding a chantry and obit there.

We have already taken notice of Gower's extensive learning. He was a great master of the French and Latin languages, as well as his own; and has left excellent specimens of his poetical genius in each of these languages. But his distinguished poetical merit was introducing the muses into this kingdom; for in order of time he was prior to Chaucer, though he also survived him. And in this view he may therefore be styled the Parent of our English poetry; but he was so much eclipsed by the superior poetical abilities of his friend Chaucer, that this title has been generally given to the latter. "I will not reach (says Mr. Puttenham in his art of English poesie) above the time of King Edward the Third, and Richard the Second, for any that wrote in English metre; because, before their time, by reason of the late Norman conquest, which had brought into the realm much alteration, both of our language and laws, and therewithal a certain martial barbarousness, whereby the study of all good learning was so much degraded, as long time after no man, or very few, intended to write in any laudable science, so as beyond that time there is little or nothing worth commendation to be found written in this art. And those of the first age were Chaucer and Gower, after whom followed John Lydgate, the Monk of Bury, (s) and that nameless poet who wrote the satire called *PIERCE PLOWMAN*." To the same purpose also Sir Philip Sydney. "In the Italian language (says he) the first that made it to be a treasure-house of science, were the poets Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch. So in our English, were Gower and Chaucer; after whom, encouraged and delighted with

(s) JOHN LYDGATE was commonly called the Monk of Bury, because he was born at that place, about the year 1380. After some time spent in our English universities, he travelled through France and Italy, improving his time in making a further progress in learning. Pitiscus says, he was not only an elegant poet, and an eloquent rhetorician, but also an expert mathematician, an acute philosopher, and no mean divine. The smoothness of his versification has been greatly commended; and he is said to have been so much admired

by his contemporaries, that they said of him, that his wit was framed and fashioned by the muses themselves. After his return from France and Italy, he became tutor to many noblemen's sons, and for his excellent endowments was much esteemed and revered by them. He wrote a poem, called the Life and Death of Hector, some satires, eclogues, and odes, and other learned works in prose. He died in 1440, aged sixty, and was buried in his own convent at Bury.

with their excellent foregoing, others have followed to beautify our mother tongue, as well in the same kind, as other arts." But the ingenious Mr. Warton, in his observations on Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, has put the claim of Gower and Chaucer to being considered as the first English poets, upon a somewhat different footing. "There are indeed (says he) the works of some English poets now remaining, who wrote before Gower and Chaucer; but these are chiefly chronicles in rhyme, and seem to have left us the last dregs of that kind of composition, which was practised by the British bards; as for instance, the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, who wrote, according to his own account, about the year 1280; and hence we observe, that Gower and Chaucer were reputed the first English poets, because they first brought *invention* into our poetry, they *moralized their song*, and strove to make virtue more amiable by cloathing her in fiction."

Of two of our author's principal works, his *Confessio Amantis*, and *Vox Clamantis*, we have already given some account. His *Speculum Meditantis* was written in French, in ten books. The whole title of it, in English, is, "A treatise, exhorting, by examples drawn from many authors, married persons joined through love, to keep the faith of their holy espousals with steady loyalty, and to the honour of God to hold themselves chaste." There are two copies of this work in the Bodleian library.

Gower also wrote the following pieces, copies of which are still remaining, though they have not been printed.

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|--|--|
| 1. De peste vitiorum. | 9. Contra dæmonis astutiam
in causa Lollardiæ. |
| 2. Tractatus de lucis scrutinio
quam vitiorum tenebræ
suffocarunt. | 10. Contra mentis sævitiam
in causa superbix. |
| 3. De Conjugii dignitate. | 11. Contra carnis lasciviam in
causa concupiscentiæ. |
| 4. De Regimine principum. | 12. Contra mundi fallaciam in
causa perjurii & avari-
tiæ. |
| 5. Epigrammata quædam. | |
| 6. De amoris varietate. | |
| 7. Carmina diversa. | |
| 8. De Remediis contra vitia
sui temporis. | |

Some have added to these treatises, one upon the philosopher's stone; which however is not a distinct work, but is taken out of the fourth book of his *Confessio Amantis*. Of all the old poets who have handled this singular subject, Gower has expressed himself with the greatest perspicuity. He discourses largely and learnedly on the Hermetic science, shews what its principles are, how much they have been mistaken, to what vile abuses they have given rise; and in the end concludes, that,

that, notwithstanding all these frauds, the art is in itself true.

As a specimen of our author's poetry, we shall present the reader with the three first stanzas of his poem of the Commendation of Peace, addressed to King Henry the Fourth, in his own language.

I.

O noble worthie King Henry the Ferth,
In whom the gladde fortune is befall
The peple to governe here upon yerth,
God hath The chosen in comfort of us all,
The worship of this land which was down fal,
Now stant upright through grace of thy godenesse,
Which every man is hold for to blesse.

II.

The most high God of his justice alone,
The right whiche longith to thy regalie
Declarid hath to stande in thy persone,
And more then God maie no man justifie,
Thy title is knowe upon thynce ancestrie,
The land's folke hath eke thy right affirmed,
So stant thy reigne, of God and man confirmed.

III.

There is no man maie saie in otherwise
That God hymself ne hath the right declared,
Whereof the lande is bounde to thy service,
Whiche for defaulte of helpe hath long yeared,
But now there is no man's herte spared,
To love and serve, and worchin thy plessaunce,
And all this is through God's purveiaunce.

At the close of this poem, according to the custom of Gower, who seldom wrote in English without recapitulating his thoughts in Latin, we find some remarkable Latin lines, in which he seems to take his leave of the muses, and of the world; and of which the following is a translation:

“ Here ends the poem of the Commendation of Peace, which his humble Orator John Gower composed; in honour, and to preserve the fame of his serene Sovereign Lord King Henry IV.

Chosen of Christ, thou pious King wer't known,
And welcome met, when claiming of thy own;
The Bad subdued, the Good to rights restor'd,
To the sad realm, you springing joys afford.
To me, great Prince, thy hand benign and kind,
Return'd whate'er my better day assign'd;
Let me record this act with chearful lay,
And the great good, with grateful thanks repay.

Q

Henry

Henry the Fourth's first year I lost my light,
 Condemn'd to suffer life, devoid of light.
 All things in time submit, and nature draws
 What force attempts in vain, beneath her laws.
 More I cannot, what tho' my will supplies,
 My ebbing strength all future pow'r denies.
 While that remain'd I wrote, now old and weak,
 What wisdom dictates let young scholars speak.
 Let him who follows, be sublimer still,
 My works are finish'd, here I drop my quill.
 My parting words, may heavenly goodness last,
 And times ensuing much excel the past."

To the specimens which we have already given of Gower's poetry, we will add one of the tales in his *Confessio Amantis*, rendered into modern English. And if the reader reflects on the character of Richard the Second, for whose use it was originally written, he will readily perceive how well this story was adapted for the instruction of that unfortunate Prince.

In Rome when Lucius bore the sway,
 It happ'd, so ancient stories say,
 One evening e're he went to bed,
 To ease of all his cares his head,
 He call'd his steward, a doughty Knight,
 That he might counsel what was right,
 With's Chamberlain, a Lord of parts,
 Deep skill'd in all the courtly arts;
 And by the chimney as they stood,
 They freely talk'd as they thought good.
 Before the fire upon a stool,
 Close by them sat the Monarch's fool.
 And as he with his bauble play'd,
 He heard right well whate'er they said.
 The King his various doubts propos'd,
 And they at will their thoughts disclos'd.

When many questions thus had past,
 The King demanded at the last,
 What with his people was his fame,
 And if rever'd or scorn'd his name?
 Bid them the truth to him declare,
 And tell him all things as they were.
 On their allegiance——without awe
 Or dread that they might anger draw.
 Since 'twas his will as tongues will walk,
 To know the common people's talk.

The steward in answer told the King,
 (As palace-nightingales still sing)
 That far and wide, as he could hear,
 His Majesty to all was dear.

That

That all his actions were admired,
And his long reign by all desired ;
In this that high and low agreed,
Hoping that Heaven had so decreed.
Thus spoke the steward, and all he spoke
Was flatt'ry dress'd in falsehood's cloak.

Next turning to his chamberlain,
The King requir'd in language plain ;
That he would tell him all he knew,
Nor heed th' event so it was true.

His chamberlain, a subtle man,
Who could both truth and int'rest scan,
Perceiving by the Monarch's brow,
Hereally meant the truth to know.
First bowing low—My Liege, said he,
Your subjects high and low agree,
That if your Council were but true,
And you things fairly from them knew ;
In ev'ry point thus understood,
You would be gracious, great, and good.
For well they know your princely nature,
Heav'n never form'd a better creature !

A gleam of truth he thus reveal'd,
Behind a cloud of words conceal'd.
Hinted at what he would not name,
And on the Council laid the blame.

The fool who heard what both had told,
And in the cause of truth more bold :
Or else, which surely was the case,
Prompted thereto by heav'nly grace ;
First sigh'd as he his lungs had torn,
Then laugh'd the Courtiers both to scorn.

Sir King, said he, if so it was,
As this wise Lord has put the case,
Be sure your Council have done right,
To please is always their delight ;
From them if ill advice be had,
It is because the King is bad.
Take not on trust----if you would find,
The truth----go look it in your mind.

The Monarch paus'd, amaz'd to hear,
Language so foreign to his ear ;
Began to weigh the golden rule,
And took the counsel of his fool.
Conscience stood ready at his call,
And as he ask'd----It answer'd all.
He quickly felt the good of this,
Discern'd whate'er he'd done amiss.

He saw, nor started at the sight,
 Resolving soon to set things right.
 And thus, by Providence inspir'd,
 The Fowl wrought what the King desir'd.

The weak, the wanton, and the wild,
 Were from the Monarch's Court exil'd.
 The grave, the gen'rous, and the good,
 Before the King in office stood.
 By them advis'd, he thought no ill,
 He did no wrong, yet did his will.

But laws were presently amended,
 Wisely the public wealth expended,
 All injuries were clean redress'd,
 The people were no more oppress'd.
 For where a King is good and wise,
 None dare to give him bad advice.
 His measures too so deeply plann'd,
 Are executed out of hand.
 His people bless their prince's name,
 And foreign realms repeat his fame.

But if the common people cry,
 And their proud Monarch ask not, why ?
 Or told refuses to redress,
 And make unnumber'd burthens less.
 Or careless seeks in sports and play,
 To pass the jocund hours away ;
 Tho' hunger, penury, and toil,
 Afflict his subjects all the while :
 Their fate at length becomes his own,
 As from examples may be shewn.



The Life of GEOFFREY CHAUCER.

THE Name of CHAUCER is peculiarly endeared to every lover of English Poetry. His great and distinguished poetical abilities, in an age in which polite literature, in general, was little known, and less cultivated; in which, indeed, it had but just began, in this country, to have its existence; his admirable talent at painting manners and characters; and some other circumstances in which he has been thought to resemble the immortal Grecian Poet, have occasioned him to be frequently stiled the ENGLISH HOMER, and the FATHER of the English Poets.

Various conjectures have been made concerning the place of Chaucer's birth. Some writers have supposed him to be a native of Oxfordshire, and others of Berkshire. But the truth seems to be, that he was born in London; which appears to be the case from a passage in his own writings, and which is also confirmed by an observation of Camden. (1) Nothing can be determined with any certainty concerning the descent of Chaucer, not even who was his father. Some have said that his father was a Knight; and Mr. Urry conjectures, that one John Chaucer, who attended King Edward the Third, and Queen Philippa, in their expedition to Flanders and Cologne, was the man. But of this there is no sort of proof. It is however probable, that his father was a gentleman, because Chaucer evidently received a very liberal education, and lived in a manner which could not have been supported but at a considerable expence. His being one of the King's pages also indicates the same thing; for young men of the best quality were generally chosen for that purpose. It is generally agreed, that he was born in 1328, which was the second year of the reign of King Edward the Third. How he spent his earlier years, is not known; but it appears that as soon as he was fit for academical studies,

(1) Chaucer, in his *Testament of Love*, speaking of the troubles which happened in London, says, "The city of London, that is to me so dear and sweet, in which I was forth-grown; and more kindly love have I to that place, than any other on earth, as every kindly creature hath full appetite to that place of his kindly engendrur, &c." And Camden, in his annals

of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, has the following passage. "Edmund Spenser, a *Londoner* by birth, and a scholar also of the University of Cambridge, was born under so favourable an aspect of the muses, that he surpasses all the English Poets of former times, not excepting Chaucer himself, his fellow-citizens."

studies, he was sent to Cambridge, where he gave early testimonies of his poetical talents, by several elegies and sonnets, as well as by a poem called the COURT OF LOVE, which he composed when he was about eighteen, and which carries in it evident proofs of his skill and learning, as well as of the strength of his genius. It is not certain in what college or hall of that University he studied; but it is conjectured that it might be in Solere's Hall, which he has described so particularly, and with so much humour, in his story of the Miller of Trompington. From Cambridge he removed, for what reason does not appear, to the University of Oxford, where he farther prosecuted his studies. After a considerable stay here, and a strict application to the public lectures of the University, he became (says Leland) a ready Logician, a smooth Rhetorician, a pleasant Poet, a grave Philosopher, an ingenious Mathematician, and a holy Divine. We have, indeed, abundant proof that Chaucer's progress in literature was very considerable; and his knowledge both in Divinity and Philosophy, appears evidently from his *Parson's Tale*, and his *Testament of Love*. But notwithstanding this, the impartial reader, after reading some of Chaucer's tales, may possibly demur a little as to the propriety of considering him, and more especially at this time of life, in the light either of a grave Philosopher, or a holy Divine.

Having by this course of studies made such great literary acquisitions, and which afterwards enabled him to make so considerable a figure, our Poet left Oxford, and travelled abroad through France and the Low-Countries, in order to see the world, and to improve that knowledge which he had acquired from books. When young fellows, whose judgments are unformed, and whose understandings have been but little cultivated, are sent out upon their travels; instead of improvement, they frequently bring back nothing but foreign fopperies, and foreign vices. But this was not the case with Chaucer: having acquired a proper fund of knowledge in his own country, he was the better qualified to make observations on the manners, policy, and customs, of other nations. A man possessed of Chaucer's natural and acquired talents, could not avoid receiving great advantage and improvement from foreign travel.

How long Chaucer continued upon his travels, is uncertain. But after his return, he entered himself of the Middle-Temple, as a student in the law. It was here that his acquaintance commenced with Gower, who was then a person of some eminence in his profession. And during our Poet's continuance here, he gave some evidence of his being in possession of vigour of body, as well as of mind; for it is related, that whilst he was a student in the Temple, he was fined two shillings for beating a Fryar in Fleet-street. Having acquired some knowledge in the laws of his country, he betook himself to the Court, a place which his many accomplishments qualified him to make a figure in. The Court

Court of King Edward the Third was at this time the most splendid of any in Europe. It was filled with those heroes who had distinguished themselves under King Edward, and his gallant son the Prince of Wales; and with Ladies remarkable for beauty, wit, and gaiety. Edward, who was a discerning Prince, loved and patronized men of letters; a taste for learning became therefore, of course, in some degree fashionable at Court. It is therefore natural to suppose, that a young man of Chaucer's endowments, possessed of wit and learning, of an amorous and gallant disposition, and a temper inclined to gaiety, must have made no inconsiderable figure there. We may also add the recommendation of his person: For it appears from a picture of him, taken when he was about thirty, that he was of a fair, beautiful complexion, his lips red and full, his size of a just medium, and his port and air graceful and majestic.

His first station at Court appears to have been that of page to the King, in those days a very honourable office, as it gave near and frequent access to the Royal presence; and was therefore an honour which young Noblemen of rank were glad to accept. Chaucer has been thought to owe his admittance into the King's service in this quality, to the friendship of the Duke of Lancaster; and it seems that our Poet was very deep in the amorous secrets of that Prince. This appears from a poem of our author's, called CHAUCER'S DREAM, which was first printed in 1397, and which is an allegorical history of the loves of John of Ghent and Blanch of Lancaster, daughter of Henry Duke of Lancaster. This amour, it appears from the poem, was managed with the utmost secrecy, till, by a long train of intrigues and solicitations, all the obstacles in the way of this match were got over; & with the help of the King's consent, & the Pope's dispensation, they were married in 1359. And the knowledge which Chaucer had of this affair, attached the Dutchess Blanch to his interests, as well as her husband the Duke of Lancaster. This Dutchess entertained in her service Catherine Rouet, daughter of Sir Payne, or Pagan Rouet, a native of Hainault, & Guien King at arms for that country, who was afterwards married to Sir Hugh Swynford, a Knight of Lincoln. He lived not long after their marriage, and upon his decease this Lady returned into the Duke's family, and was appointed governess of his children. She had a sister whose name was Philippa, a great favourite likewise with the Duke and Dutchess; and who was by them, therefore, as a mark of their great esteem, recommended to Chaucer for a wife. Accordingly our Poet married this Lady about the thirty-second year of his age.

In the forty-first year of King Edward's reign, he granted to Chaucer, by his letters patent, for his good services, by the title of *dilectus valetus noster*, an annuity of twenty marks *per annum*, payable out of the exchequer, till he could otherwise provide for him. However mean such a pension may now appear, it

was

was then very considerable ; and in Chaucer's case was the more valuable, as being an earnest of future favours. Shortly after we find him Gentleman of the King's privy chamber, and by that title the King granted to him the further sum of twenty marks *per annum*, during his life. The next year he was made *shield-bearer* to the King ; a title at that time, though now extinct, of great honour ; such persons being always next the King's person, and upon signal victories were generally rewarded with military honours.

Our Poet having received these marks of Royal favour, found respect and encouragement from all the chief persons of the Court. King Edward's consort, Queen Philippa, a Princess of great merit, esteemed him. And the Lady Margaret, the King's daughter, and Countess of Pembroke, was the chief of his patronesses, and would frequently compliment him upon his poems. But it is said that he gave some little offence to this Lady, as well as others, by his *Romaunt of the Rose*, and *Troilus & Criseide*, in which he had made more free with the fair sex, than the Ladies thought he ought to have done. And therefore he endeavoured to atone for his offence by writing the *Legend of good Women* ; a task which seems to have been enjoined him as a kind of penance by the Lady Margaret, whom in this work he veils under the name of *the Daisy*, as he does in several other pieces. And certainly, if Chaucer had really been too free with the sex in general, he could not in justice do less than make it appear there had been at least *some* good women.

Our Poet thus beloved, esteemed, and honoured, by the Great and Fair, spent his younger years in a constant attendance upon the Court ; and when that was at Woodstock, he resided at a square stone house, near the park-gate, which still retains his name ; and well indeed it may, since being in a manner consecrated in his poems, the whole country about it is become to Englishmen a kind of classic ground. For many of the rural descriptions which occur in our Poet's works, are taken from Woodstock park ; of which he tells us that it was *a park walled with green stone*, that being the first park walled in England ; and not many years before his time. In most of his pieces where he designs an imaginary scene, he certainly copies it from a real landscape. Thus in his *Cuckow and Nightingale*, the morning-walk he takes is such, as may at this day be traced from his house through part of the park, and down by the brook into the vale under Blenheim castle ; as certainly as we may assert that Maples, instead of Phylireas, were the ornaments round his bower ; which place he likewise describes in his *DREAM*, as a white castle standing upon a hill ; the scene in that poem being laid in Woodstock park.

Whilst our Poet was in this pleasing situation, much of his time was spent in study and walking. This exercise was so agreeable to him, that he says he preferred it to all other sports
and

and diversions. He lived retired within himself, without being desirous to hear, or busy to concern himself with the affairs of his neighbours. His course of living was temperate and regular; he went to rest with the sun, and rose before it; and by that means enjoyed the pleasures of the better part of the day, his morning walk, and fresh contemplations. This gave him the advantage of describing the morning in so lively a manner, as he does every where in his works. "The springing sun," says an ingenious writer, "glows warm in his lines, and the fragrant air blows cool in his descriptions. We smell the sweets of the bloomy haws, and hear the music of the feathered choir, whenever we take a forest walk with him. The hour of the day is not easier to be discovered, from the reflexion of the sun in Titian's paintings, than in Chaucer's morning landscapes." Those descriptions are indeed sometimes too long; and when he takes those early rambles, he almost tires his readers with following him; and scarce knows how to get out of a forest, when once entered into it. But how advantageous this beautiful extravagance is, many of his poetical successors have well known, who have plentifully lopped off his exuberant beauties, and ornamented their own writings with them.

In 1368 the Duke of Clarence, second son to King Edward, went into Italy to celebrate his nuptials with the daughter of the Duke of Milan; and it is said that Chaucer attended him thither. Paulus Jovius says, that the celebrated Italian Poet Petrarch was present at this ceremony. And there is some reason to believe, that these two great Poets cultivated an acquaintance with each other. Two years afterwards, our Poet was honoured with a commission, in conjunction with others, to treat on behalf of King Edward with the Republic of Genoa. Accordingly Chaucer went thither, and was concerned in managing a negociation with the Doge and Senate. What the purport of this negociation was, does not now appear. But it has been conjectured, that it might be to hire ships for the King's navy; for in those times, though we frequently made great naval armaments, yet we had but few ships of our own, and this defect was supplied by hiring them from the free States either in Germany or Italy. But whatever the subject of this negociation was, our Poet seems to have acquitted himself in it to the satisfaction of the King; for on his return home, he received a new mark of Royal favour, his Majesty granting to him by letters patent, by the title of *Armiger noster*, one *pycker* of wine daily in the port of London, to be delivered by the butler of England; and shortly after he was made Comptroller of the Customs in the port of London, for wool, wool-fells, and hides, with a proviso that he should personally execute that office, and keep the accounts of it with his own hand.

This post which was bestowed upon our author, was both reputable and lucrative. Chaucer was enriched by the profits of

it; and by the diligence and integrity with which he discharged it, he increased his reputation. He valued himself much upon his upright discharge of the duties of this office, affirming that his conduct while he held it, was never liable to any kind of imputation. (u) And there is great reason to believe, that this was really the case: for in the latter end of King Edward's reign, there were great frauds and embezzlements committed in the customs, which by prosecutions were brought to public view; but we do not find that in these the name of Chaucer was so much as mentioned. About a year after he was in possession of this office, the King made him a grant of the lands and body of Sir Edmund Staplegate, son of Sir Edmund Staplegate, of Kent, in ward, for which he received one hundred and four pounds; and he had also other pecuniary advantages, which enabled him to raise in the whole an income of one thousand pounds *per annum*; which was in those days a very great sum, and abundantly sufficient to enable him to live, as he says he did, with dignity in office, and with good-will amongst his neighbours. (w)

In this happy season of Chaucer's life, he composed most of those gay and lively pieces, which were so much adapted to the humour of those times, and to that romantic spirit which then so greatly prevailed. But he now began to turn his pen to graver subjects, and to attack the vices of the Clergy. It has been generally supposed, that Chaucer was chiefly indebted to the Duke of Lancaster for those beneficial grants and offices which he enjoyed; and as the Duke of Lancaster espoused the cause of Wickliff, and greatly interested himself in his behalf, it has been suggested, that our Poet turned the edge of his satire against lazy Monks, ignorant Priests, and the insolence of such as belonged to ecclesiastical courts, out of complaisance to his patron. But certainly there is no necessity for supposing this to be Chaucer's principal motive, in writing those satirical remarks which are to be found in his poems, on the corrupt manners of many of the Romish Clergy. It does not follow, that because our Poet was under obligations to the Duke of Lancaster, that it must therefore necessarily be supposed, that what he wrote which seemed to favour the interests or opinions of Wickliff, or his followers,

(u) In his *Testament of Love* he says, that no 'wight of his administracyon coude non yvels;' and

that, 'he never defouled his conscience for no maner dede.'

(w) Chaucer confesses, in his *Testament of Love*, that he grew wealthy in his employment. 'I had comfort' (says he) 'to be in that plight, that both profit were to me and my frends.' He adds, that 'in dignity of office, he made gathering of thilk godes, and had a faire parcel

'for the tyme, in forthering of his sustenance, richesse sufficiently to wieve nede, dignity to be reverenced in worship, power to keep fro his enemies;' so that he 'seemed to shine in glory of renome, as manerhode asketh in men.'

followers, must have been merely the result of his attachment to the Duke. And surely a protestant reader will find no difficulty in conceiving, that a man of letters, and superior understanding, as Chaucer was, might be heartily disposed, from principle, to expose the iniquitous practices, and ridiculous pretences, of the Romish priests of that age. However, whatever were our Poet's motives, he certainly made very free with the more unworthy ecclesiastics, and satirized them with great keenness and wit. This he did in several of his pieces, and particularly in his *PLOWMAN'S TALE*, and his *JACK UPLAND*. Some writers have been of opinion, that these two last pieces were not written by Chaucer; but they had no good reason for their opinion; for Leland, and other ancient writers, affirm him to have been the author of the *PLOWMAN'S TALE*; and the satire which goes under the name of *JACK UPLAND*, is also attributed to him upon very good authority. (x) But though Chaucer censured wicked ecclesiastics with great freedom, he was manifestly no enemy to real religion, or to the Clergy. He mentions Friar John Some, and Friar Nicholas Lenne, with much respect; and his character of the *parish-priest* is a very amiable one. Neither was our Poet himself disesteemed by the Clergy of those times, many of whom entertained a very high opinion of him, and spoke of him with great respect. But it is evident, from many parts of his writings, that he was a favourer of the opinions of Wickliff.

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(x) Mr. Urry seems desirous of acquitting Chaucer from the guilt, as he seems to think it, of writing these pieces. He admits that Chaucer favoured the cause of Wickliff, both by his public interest and writings; but adds, 'I cannot go so far as to suppose he scurrilously reviled the established religion of those times, and therefore cannot think that either the *PLOWMAN'S TALE*, or *JACK UPLAND*, were written by him.' There are, however, others, who will probably be of opinion, that Chaucer's attacking and exposing some of the corruptions of the then established church, and the vices of the Clergy, was not a discredit to him, but an honour; and will therefore not be inclined to reject those pieces which are handed down to us as his by good authority, merely because they strike at the Romish church or Clergy. The venerable John Fox says, 'I marvel to consider thus, how that the Bishops condemning and abolishing all manner of English books and treatises, which might bring the people to any light of know-

ledge, did yet authorize the works of Chaucer to remain still, & to be occupied; who no doubt saw in religion, as much almost as ever we do now, and uttereth in his works no less; and seemeth to be a right Wicklevian, or else there was never any; and that all his works almost, if they be thoroughly advised will testify; albeit it be done in mirth, and covertly; and especially the latter end of his third book of the *Testament of Love*: for there purely he toucheth the highest matter, *that is*, the Communion; wherein, except a man be altogether blind, he may espy him at the full.—He further adds, 'I am partly informed of certain which knew the parties, which to them reported, that by reading Chaucer's works they were brought to the true knowledge of religion; and not unlikely to be true; for so much the other parts of his volumes, whereof some are more famous than others, what tale can be more plainly told, than the tale of the *PLOWMAN*, &c.'

In the last year of King Edward's reign, the French having infringed the truce which he had concluded with them, Commissioners were sent over to expostulate that matter before the Pope's legates; and of these Chaucer was one. This negotiation was not very successful; but it produced some overtures of marriage between Richard, Prince of Wales, and the Lady Mary, daughter to the French King; and by this means way was made for a new treaty, in which Sir Guiscard Dangle, Knight of the garter, Sir Richard Sturrey, who is said to have been a great Wickliffite, and in high favour with the King, and Geoffrey Chaucer, were Commissioners. We have no account of our Poet's holding any other public employment; though it has been inferred from some passages in his *Testament of Love*, that he must have passed through some other honourable employments. And in an original picture of him which is still remaining, he hath a double chain round his neck, and hanging to the middle of his breast; from which it should seem that he was honoured with some dignity, of which we have now no account.

After the accession of Richard the Second to the throne, a court of claims being established to settle the demands of those who should pretend to have a right to assist at the coronation of the young King, we find Geoffrey Chaucer among the claimants. This claim he made in right of his ward, Sir Edmond Staplegate, who was in possession of the manor of Bilington in Kent; which was held of the Crown, by the service of presenting to the King three maple cups, as chief butler, on the day of his coronation: but the Earl of Arundel put in another petition, in which it was alledged, that honour had been formerly possessed by his ancestors, and that Staplegate had never before claimed it, and being a minor was unqualified for it; which petition was granted, reserving to Staplegate the right of making his claim afterwards. (y)

In the first year of Richard's reign, Chaucer obtained, probably by the favour of his friend the Duke of Lancaster, letters patent, confirming to him, by the title of *dilectus Armiger noster*, the grant made to him by the late King Edward, of twenty marks *per annum*; and by other letters patent in the same year, King Richard confirmed to him the other grant of the late King for a *pycher* of wine, to be delivered him daily in the port of London. But whether he still continued in his office of Comptroller of the Customs, is uncertain; but the contrary seems to be the most probable. For in a short time after his affairs were in such disorder, that he was obliged to have recourse

(y) Mr. Robert Barham was in possession of this manor at the coronation of King Charles II. when Mr. Erasmus Smith, on the behalf of

the said Barham, assisted at the coronation, and presented the three maple cups.

course to the King's protection, to screen him from his creditors. No account has been transmitted down to us of what were the causes of Chaucer's being involved in these difficulties; nor is there any certainty whether they were only temporary, or of a long duration. It has however been thought most probable, that from some sudden accident he fell under his misfortunes, and that he had recourse to the King's protection, only to gain time to settle his affairs. But however that be, as it is certain that Chaucer for a long time had what was in that age a very considerable income, we should perhaps, in accounting for the difficulties in which he was involved, advert to one particular which none of his biographers have done. It should be remembered, that Chaucer was a *Poet*. Oeconomy is a virtue which was never in any great estimation with the favourites of the muses; and it is by no means improbable, that Chaucer might in this respect resemble the rest of his brethren.

In the fourth year of King Richard's reign, our author procured a confirmation of the grants which had been formerly made to him, and to his wife Philippa. It seems evident from this, that Chaucer had at this time a considerable personal interest at Court, independent of the Duke of Lancaster; since when he obtained this grant, that Prince's influence at Court was much diminished. Our Poet had now two sons by his Wife Philippa, Thomas and Lewis. Thomas was about this time married to Maud, the second daughter of Sir John Burghe, who was a man of very considerable rank and fortune, and his daughter is said to have been one of the greatest fortunes in England. It has been conjectured, that Chaucer, in order to obtain this great match for his son, settled all his estate upon him; and that his doing this might involve him in those difficulties which have been already mentioned, and which reduced him to the necessity of obtaining the King's protection. Chaucer's second son Lewis was born in 1381; for it appears that he was ten years of age when his father wrote for him the treatise of the *ASTROLABE*, which was in 1391; at which time he was a student at Merton college in Oxford, and pupil to the famous Nicholas Strode; but we have no farther account of him.

About this time the Duke of Lancaster began to decline interesting himself on the behalf of Dr. Wickliff; probably supposing, as we have already intimated in the life of that Reformer, that the countenance and protection which he had afforded Wickliff, might be one cause of the decline of his credit. Chaucer, however, was so far from abandoning his former opinions, that he exerted himself to the utmost in 1382, in the support of John Comberton, generally siled John of Northampton, Mayor of London, in his endeavours to reform the city, according to the advice given by Wickliff. This intended reformation was so much resented by the Clergy, that rather

than let it proceed, they had recourse to the most violent methods; and in order to prevent Comberton's being re-chosen Mayor of London, they excited such disturbances as bordered upon a rebellion. But the King making use of force upon this occasion, sent Sir Robert Knolles to London, who committed great severities, put some to death, made the late Mayor Comberton prisoner, and used his utmost endeavours to apprehend Chaucer. But our Poet, foreseeing his danger, made his escape into Hainault; and from thence went to France, where finding himself not so safe as he expected, he withdrew into Zealand. Here Chaucer concealed himself for some time, with several other Londoners who had fled upon the same account, and whom he very generously subsisted out of his own private fortune. But whilst he was thus an exile from his country, and chiefly, as he himself says, *their privitie to console* who had been concerned with him, many of the principal persons who had been engaged with him in the same cause, had found ways and means to make their peace. These persons, however, are said to have been so far from endeavouring to alleviate Chaucer's misfortunes, that they, on the contrary, endeavoured to hinder the remittances which might have been made him out of his own fortune. The motive which is assigned for this behaviour, was a desire that he might perish in his banishment, and by that means remove from them any apprehensions of his making any discoveries to their prejudice. But however that be, Chaucer's involving himself in such difficulties, by espousing the cause of those who adhered to the opinions of Wickliff, and at a time when the Duke of Lancaster appears to have deserted that Reformer, seems to be a strong evidence that he had espoused the cause of the Wickliffites, both in his writings and otherwise, not merely out of complaisance to his patron the Duke of Lancaster, as is commonly suggested, but from a real conviction that the tenets of Wickliff were founded upon truth and reason.

Whilst Chaucer was expending his fortune in removing from place to place, and in assisting his fellow-exiles, he was so far from receiving any assistance from home, that his apartments were lett, and the money received for rent was never accounted for to him: neither could he receive any from those who were indebted to him, they being fully persuaded it was impossible for him ever to return into England. And the Government still continued to pursue their resentment against him and his friends, upon which they were constrained to leave Zealand. Our Poet, thus distressed, finding no security wherever he fled, and being unable to struggle any longer with the difficulties of poverty and exile, determined rather than lose his life by hunger and want in a foreign country, to return into England, and hazard the worst effects of the malice of his enemies.

It may seem difficult to conceive, at this time, how Chaucer's using his endeavours to bring about a reformation in the city of
London,

London, according to Wickliff's plan, could be construed into such guilt, as to oblige him to fly his country. But it should be remembered, that the party which he had irritated, were chiefly composed of ignorant zealots, instigated by fiery and bigotted priests, who were alarmed at the progress of Wickliff's doctrines, the tendency of which was so unfavourable to the views of an interested, ambitious, and corrupt Clergy. With these there could be no greater crime than an attempt to introduce any innovations in religion, which were contrary to their interests; and it was easy for such men to give the name of seditious, or even treasonable practices, to any attempts for that purpose, however upright the intentions of those who were engaged in them.

Our Poet having returned to England, had not been long here before he was discovered, arrested by order of the King, and sent to prison; some suppose to the Tower of London. He was here at first treated with great rigour and severity; but in the end promised the King's pardon, and his liberty, if he would disclose all he knew. Chaucer for a long time evaded all the arts which were used to make him confess, being very unwilling to betray the secrets of his party, notwithstanding the ungenerous treatment he had received from some of them. However, he was at length prevailed upon to disclose what he knew, and impeach the persons who were concerned with him; and not only so, but, according to the custom of trials at that time, he offered to prove the truth of his confession by combat. (z)

What the consequences of Chaucer's confession were with respect to others, does not appear; but with respect to himself, though it procured his pardon from the King, it brought upon him much ill-will from those of his own party, and a great load of calumnies and slanders. To add to his misfortunes, it is said, that he had not only lost his interest at Court, by the decline of the Duke of Lancaster's credit there, but that he had also lost some of his interest with the Duke; who finding many liberties taken with his character, on account of his amours with the Lady Swynford, Chaucer's sister-in-law, came at length to a resolution, though unwillingly, of parting with her; which he accordingly

(z) Comberton, the Mayor of London, the principal person who was engaged in the intended reformation of the city, who was taken into custody at the time Chaucer made his escape from England into Hainault, had been carried to Reading, and there tried, and had judgment given against him to be imprisoned for life, and to have his goods seized, which was accordingly done.

Put this was before Chaucer's return to England; and therefore the judgment against Comberton could not have been influenced by Chaucer's confession. Mr. Comberton afterwards had the honour to have his sentence reversed, at the prayer of the Commons of England in Parliament assembled. He was also cleared by a certificate under the hands of the Mayor and Aldermen of London.

accordingly did. And this is represented as having some considerable effect upon Chaucer's affairs. Indeed, he was so much reduced upon his being set at liberty, and so much incumbered with debts, that he durst not appear in public for fear of arrests. In the midst of these misfortunes, he produced that excellent treatise of his, entitled, *The Testament of Love*; which he wrote in order to give some vent to his sorrow, and to console himself under his afflictions. In the beginning of this work, he thus reflects upon his former happiness, and his present misery: "Alas! fortune, alas! I that some tyme in delicious houres was wont to enjoy blisful stoundes, am now drive by unhappy hevynesse to bewaile my fondrie yvils in tene. Mirth is chaunged into tene, &c. Thus witleffe, thoughtfull, fightlesse lokinge, I endure my penaunce in this derke prisonne, caitifned fro frendshippe, and acquaintaunce, and forsaken of all that any worde dare speke." And a little further: "O! where art thou nowe frendshippe, that some tyme with laughande chere madest bothe face and countenance to me wardes?" In another place he says, "How am I now cast out of all swetenesse of blisse, and mischevously stongen by passed joye! Sorrowfully must I bewaile, and live as a wretch. Every of the joyes is turned into his contrary: for riches now I have povertie, for dignitie now am I enprisoned; instede of power, wretchednesse I suffre, and for glory of renome I am now dispised, and foulliche hated. Thus hath farne fortune, that sodainly am I overthrown, and out of all welth dispoiled, &c." (a)

Chaucer thus distressed, harrassed by his enemies, and deserted by his friends, was obliged to dispose of the pensions which had been granted him by the late King, by a surrender in Chancery, to one John Scalby, as appears by a license obtained for this purpose, on record. In this reverse of fortune, he wisely resolved to quit the busy scene of life in which he had been engaged, and to seek for happiness in study and retirement. The place he chose for his retreat was Woodstock, where he had formerly enjoyed so many happy days; and here he employed part of his time in revising and correcting his writings, and in new compositions.

(a) There cannot be a better account given of this work of our author's, from which the above extracts are taken, and which is the most important of his works in prose, than by transcribing the rubric which stands before it, and which runs thus:

"This book is an imitation of *Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiæ*. I. In the first part whereof Love, by way of legacy, bequeaths to all them that follow her instructions,

the knowledge of truth from error, whereby they may rightly judge of the causes of cross fortune, and such adversities as befall them, whether in their suits of love, or otherwise, and so in the end obtain their wished desires. II. In the second part, she teacheth the knowledge of one very God our Creator, as also the state of Grace, and the state of Glory, all which good things are figured by a Margarite Pearl. Chaucer compiled this book as a comfort to himself, after

compositions. He here produced his excellent treatise of the *Astrolabe*, which shews his great skill in astronomy; and which is calculated for the latitude of Woodstock, being (as he says) a small matter different from that of Oxford.

In the tenth year of Richard the Second, during the time of our Poet's troubles, there was a dispute in a case of chivalry, depending between Sir Richard Grosvenor and Sir Richard le Scrope, concerning their arms. The King directed John Staple and Walter Leycester to examine into the grounds of this dispute. They accordingly met at the *Preaching Friars* in London, where appeared as witnesses many of the chief Nobility in England, and other persons of distinction; and among the rest our Chaucer, who gave in evidence, "that he saw Scrope armed at Rottes in France, *Azure* with a bend *d'Or*, and that "coat was by public voice and fame taken for Scrope's coat." From this evidence of Chaucer's, it has been inferred, that he was some time employed in the wars of France, though no particulars of it have been handed down to us, as the scene of war was at one time at the above-mentioned place: and it is urged in confirmation of this, that it is part of a character which has been given him, that he was *famous in arms, as well as letters*.

In 1389, the Duke of Lancaster returned from an expedition which he had made into Spain, in prosecution of his claim upon the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. The Duke's success in war, in the course of this expedition, was at first various, and at last unsuccessful; yet he managed his affairs with so much prudence and address, that after dismissing his army, and seeming to relinquish the design which he had employed so much pains and expence to accomplish, he found means nevertheless to extract, even from his disappointment, almost as much as he would

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have

ter great griefs conceived for some rash attempts of the Commons, with whom he had joined, and thereby was in fear to lose the favour of his best friends, and also therein to set an end to all his writing, being commanded by Venus (as appears by Gower at the end of the eighth book, intitled *Confessio Amantis*) so to do, as one that was Venus's Clerk; even as Gower had made his *Confessio Amantis* his last work, and shrift of his former offences."

One of the great excellencies of Chaucer's compositions, either in verse or prose, is an easy, natural, and unaffected manner of writing, allowing for the usage of the times in which he lived, which in all ages has been held a kind of law even to the best and ablest authors. And in this work these qualities are conspi-

cuous. We here see Chaucer, much broken by misfortunes, deserted by his friends, and injured in his reputation, yet expressing himself with freedom and spirit, though in a melancholy mood, and in the language of sorrow; painting in the boldest colours his own mistakes, as well as those of others; and pointing out the only remedies which are left, when a man is abandoned by fortune and by friends. Such is the nature of this performance, in which, with great force of fancy, and elegance of expression, he has given a representation of his condition, and explained the causes of his griefs, to posterity; and thereby transmitted the fairest evidence of a spirit, which, though calamity might tame, yet it could not injure, much less destroy.

have gained by success : for though he could not make himself a King, yet he made two of his daughters Queens, one of Castile, and the other of Portugal, bringing home with him a vast treasure in ready money. (b) On his return in such good circumstances, his party began to revive, and the Duke recovered his credit at Court ; inasmuch that the King, in full Parliament, created him Duke of Aquitain. His old affection for the Lady Catherine Swynford revived with his fortune ; and under colour of rewarding the care she had taken in the education of his daughters, he made her very large grants in the nature of pensions. (c)

What advantages resulted to Chaucer, from the prosperous situation of the Duke of Lancaster's affairs, does not particularly appear ; but it is generally supposed that he felt the influence of the prosperity of his old friend and patron. However, his distaste to Courts was now so strong, that nothing could tempt him to quit the pleasures of retirement and studious ease. About the year 1396, Constance, Dutches of Lancaster, died ; and some time after the Duke married, to the surprize of all the world, his old mistress Lady Catherine Swynford, at a time when she had neither youth nor beauty to recommend her. This marriage gave great umbrage to the Dutches of Gloucester, the Countess of Derby, the Countess of Arundel, and other Ladies of the blood Royal, because in consequence of it the Duke's late mistress took place of them all. But she behaved with so much humility and discretion, that these disputes were quickly composed ; and King Richard had so great an esteem for her, that he carried her, as well as the Duke her husband, the year after their marriage, with him into France ; at which time he espoused Isabel, the French King's daughter, then very young, and who was put under the care of the new Dutches of Lancaster. The Duke procured the children which he had by her before his marriage, to be legitimated in Parliament. And he had by this Lady, John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of St. Eusebius, first Bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards of Winchester, and several times Chancellor of England, Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, and Joan, Countess of Westmoreland. So that by this marriage our Poet's eldest son,

Thomas

(b) One of our historians tells us, that when he landed in England, he had as many chests of gold as loaded forty-seven mules. John, King of Castile, paid him seventy thousand pounds for the expences of the war, and assigned him and his Dutches an annuity of ten thousand pounds.

(c) He granted her an annuity of

two hundred marks per annum, payable out of his honour of Tickhill ; and also granted her the wardship of Bertran de Sanby's heir. These pensions were partly intended for the maintenance of five children he had by her, who were born at Beaufort castle in Anjou, where she was probably delivered for privacy.

Thomas Chaucer, became nearly allied to the first Nobility of the kingdom, and indeed related to the Royal family. (d)

Chaucer being now arrived to the sixty-fourth year of his age, King Richard granted to him an annuity of twenty marks *per annum* during life, in lieu of that given him by his grandfather, and which his misfortunes had compelled him to dispose of for his subsistence. However, he appears still to have been unable to discharge his debts; for the King also granted him his protection for two years, by letters patent, setting forth, that he had occasion to employ him in some affairs of moment. The following year he had the grant also of a pipe of wine annually, out of the customs of the port of London, which was to be delivered to him by the chief butler, to which office his son Thomas Chaucer was now raised.

By these benefits our Poet was cheered and comforted in his declining years. But he sustained a considerable loss, by the death of his noble patron the Duke of Lancaster. This is supposed to have greatly affected him; for about this time he retired to Dunnington castle, near Newbury, where he chiefly spent the remainder of his days. This was a very agreeable and pleasant retreat; (e) and here Chaucer lived in honour, esteemed by all, and celebrated for his genius and learning, not only in England, but in foreign countries. He was in this situation, when Richard the Second was deposed, and Henry of Lancaster, the son of his late brother-in-law, was placed upon the Throne; but our Poet was no way concerned in this revolution, nor does he appear to have been eager in paying his compliments to the new King. (f) However, in the first year of King Henry IV. he obtained a confirmation of his grant of a

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pipe

(d) It is remarked by a curious writer, that in the time of King Charles I. there had been descended from this Lady, by the Duke of Lancaster, eight Kings, four Queens, and five Princes of England; six Kings, and three Queens of Scotland; two Cardinals, upwards of twenty Dukes, almost as many Dutcheffes of England, several Dukes of Scotland, besides many powerful Princes, and eminent Nobility, in foreign parts.

(e) This last place of our Poet's retirement, was, in Mr. Camden's time, 'a small but neat castle, situate upon the brow of a rising hill, having an agreeable prospect, very light, with windows on all sides, said to be built by Sir Richard Aderbury, Knight, who likewise

'founded an hospital beneath it, called GOD's House.' 'It was afterwards (says Camden) the seat of Chaucer, then of the De la Poles, and in our father's memory the dwelling of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.' In the park in which this castle stood, was an oak called CHAUCER'S OAK, which he is said to have planted himself, and under which he is also said to have written several of his poems.

(f) Admitting the justice of the deposition of Richard II. Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster, was not the next heir to the Crown. Edmund, Earl of March, son to Roger Mortimer, who was not long before killed in Ireland, and who had during the reign of Richard been publicly declared

pipe of wine annually, and his annuity; and Henry also granted him, the same year, an annuity of forty marks *per annum*. But it is said that Chaucer was obliged to make application to Court for the confirmation of these grants; and that the fatigue of attendance, and his being obliged to alter his usual way of living, contributed to hasten his end. However that was, he perceived the approach of his dissolution, and expected it with the firmness of a philosopher, and the patience of a Christian. He died on the 25th of October, 1400, in the seventy-second year of his age, and in the second year of the reign of Henry IV. and was buried in Westminster Abbey, in the great cross south isle.

There is still extant a kind of ode, which Chaucer is said to have composed in his last hours, and which shews that his senses were perfectly sound, and the faculties of his mind unimpaired. It is as follows:

Gods Counsaile of CHAUCER.

I.

Flie fro the prese and dwell with sothfastnesse
 Suffice unto thy gode though it be small,
 For horde hath hate, and climbyng tikilnesse,
 Prece hath envy, and wele it brent ore all,
 Savour no more then The behovin shall,
 Rede well thy self, that othir folke canst rede,
 And trouthe The shall deliver it is no drede.

II.

Paine The not eche crokid to redresse,
 In trust of her that tournith as a balle,
 Grete rest standith in litil businesse,
 Beware also to spurre again a nalle,
 Strive not as doith a crocke with a walle,
 Demith thy self that demist othir's dede,
 And trouthe The shall deliver it is no drede.

III.

That The is sent receve in buxomeneffe;
 The wrastring of this worlde askith a falle,
 Here is no home, here is but wildirnesse,
 Forthe pilgrim forthe o best out of thy stalle,
 Loke upon high, and thanke thy God of all;
 Weiwith thy luste and let thy ghost The lede,
 And trouthe The shall delivir, it is no drede.

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declared heir-apparent to the Crown, was living. Roger Mortimer was son of Philippa, daughter of the Duke of Clarence, second son of King Edward III. and elder brother of John

of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster. But Henry claimed the Crown by a mixed title, as being the next heir in the male line, and as being approved by the Parliament and people.

The same attempted in modern English.

Good Counsel of CHAUCER.

I.

Fly from the crowd, and be to virtue true,
Content with what thou hast, tho' it be small,
To hoard brings hate ; nor lofty thoughts pursue,
He who climbs high endangers many a fall.
Envy's a shade that ever waits on fame,
And oft the sun that raises it will hide ;
Trace not in life a vast expansive scheme,
But be thy wishes to thy state ally'd.
Be mild to others, to thyself severe,
So truth shall shield thee, or from hurt or fear.

II.

Think not of bending all things to thy will,
Nor vainly hope that fortune shall befriend ;
Inconstant she, but be thou constant still,
Whate'er betide unto an honest end.
Yet needless dangers never madly brave,
Kick not thy naked foot against a nail ;
Or from experience the solution crave,
If wall and pitcher strive which shall prevail ?
Be in thy cause as in thy neighbour's clear,
So truth shall shield thee, or from hurt or fear.

III.

Whatever happens, happy in thy mind
Be thou, nor at thy lot in life repine,
He 'scapes all ill, whose bosom is resign'd,
Nor way nor weather will be always fine.
Beside, thy home's not not here, a journey this,
A pilgrim thou, then hie thee on thy way ;
Look up to God, intent on heavenly bliss,
Take what the road affords, and praises pay ;
Shun brutal lusts, and seek thy soul's high sphere ;
So truth shall shield thee or from hurt or fear.

Chaucer was, as to his person, of a middle stature, and the latter part of his life inclined to be fat and corpulent ; which appears by the host's bantering him in the journey to Canterbury, and comparing shapes with him. His face was fleshy, his features just and regular, his complexion fair, and somewhat pale ; his hair was of a dusky yellow, short and thin ; the hair of his beard in two forked tufts, of a wheat colour ; his forehead broad and smooth, and his eyes usually inclining to the ground ; and his whole face full of liveliness, a calm easy sweetness, and a studious venerable aspect. As in the characters of his pilgrims he has described them in so natural a manner, that
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the pencil of the ablest artist could not have given us so full an idea of them as his words; so likewise he has given us as just a picture of himself. And, as Mr. Dryden observes, that he saw all the pilgrims in the Canterbury tales, their humours, their features, and their very dress, as distinctly as if he had supped with them, at the *Tabard* in Southwark; so from the *Testament of Love*, says Mr. Urry, one may conceive as perfect an idea of Chaucer's behaviour and actions in conversation, as if one were sitting in the prison with him, while he discoursed with *Philosophy*. The down-cast look, the strict attention, the labouring thought, the hand waving for silence, the manner of address in speaking, the smooth familiar way of arguing, the respectful way of starting his objections, and in short, every expression in that dispute, figures a lively image of him in the mind of the reader.

In the younger part of Chaucer's life he was gay and loved pleasure, and his disposition was amorous. And if our Poet indulged his inclination too much in this respect, we may alledge in his behalf, though not in excuse, yet in extenuation, not only the usual pleas of age and constitution, but the custom also of the times, since he lived in the most gallant reign from the Conquest. But in his maturer age his manners much altered, and his behaviour was modest and grave to a degree of excess; for which he was sometimes rallied by the Countess of Pembroke, who used to tell him, that his absence was more agreeable to her than his conversation, since the first was productive of agreeable pieces of wit in his writings, but the latter was filled with a modest deference, and a too distant respect. And though his earlier years were much devoted to gaiety and pleasure, the follies of his youth were afterwards corrected by religion and philosophy; and he himself speaks with a penitent concern of the many wanton songs he had written in his younger years.

Chaucer was of so amiable a temper, that he was almost universally beloved; and indeed scarce any thing but the madness of party rage could have made him enemies. Of friendships he selected the best, being familiar with, and esteemed by, the most distinguished men of letters in that age. His intimacy with Gower, we have had occasion to speak of in the life of that Poet. Another of his friends was the person whom he calls the *philosophical Strode*, in the inscription of his *Troilus and Creseide*. This was a celebrated Philosopher at that time of Merton college, and was tutor to Chaucer's son Lewis. Bale says, he wrote several pieces of poetry, and particularly four books of elegiacs. Another of our Poet's friends was Thomas Occleve, or Hockliffe. This gentleman was of the office of the Privy Seal; he wrote a book called *Cupid's Letter*; which has been printed with Chaucer's works, and by some falsely ascribed to him; which is a curious defence of, and at the same time an artful satire upon women. He was a strict follower of the opinions of

of Wickliff. Nicholas of Lynne, and John Some, both Carmelite Monks, were among Chaucer's earliest friends. They were both extremely well versed in mathematical sciences, and more especially the former, who left behind him several learned works; and is commended by Leland, as having excelled in astronomy all who went before him. Chaucer is also supposed to have been personally acquainted with Wickliff.

Chaucer's reading was deep and extensive, and his judgment sound and discerning; and he was at the same time communicative of his knowledge, and ready to correct with candour, or excuse the faults of his cotemporary writers. He knew how to judge of, and to excuse the slips of those of weaker capacities, and pitied rather than exposed the ignorance of that age. In one word, says Mr. Urry, he was a great scholar, a pleasant wit, a candid critic, a sociable companion, a steadfast friend, a grave philosopher, and a pious Christian.

As a Poet, our author has been deservedly considered as one of the greatest, as well as earliest, which this nation has produced. Allowing for those unavoidable defects which arise from the fluctuation of language, his works have still all the beauties which can be wished for, or expected, in every species of composition which he attempted; for it has been truly said, that he excelled in all the different kinds of verse in which he wrote. In his sonnets, or love songs, written when he was a mere boy, there is not only fire and judgment, but great elegance of thought, and neatness of composition. He was not unacquainted with the antient rules of poetry, nor did he disdain to follow them, tho' he thought it the least part of a poet's perfections. As he had a discerning eye, he discovered nature in all her appearances, and stripped off every disguise with which the Gothic writers had clothed her. He knew that those dresses would change as times altered; but that she herself would always be the same, and that she could never fail to please in her simple attire, nor that writer who drew her so; and therefore, despising the mean assistances of art, he copied her closely. He was an excellent master of love poetry, having studied that passion in all its turns and appearances; and Mr. Dryden prefers him upon that account to Ovid. His *Troilus and Creseide* is one of the most beautiful poems of that kind, in which love is curiously and naturally described, in its early appearance, its hopes and fears, its application, fruition, and despair in disappointment. That in the elegiac poetry he was a great master, appears evidently by his *Complaint of the black Knight*, the poem called *La belle Dame sans mercy*, and several of his songs. And his great talents in the satirical and comic way, are strikingly evident. "He deserves (says the ingenious Mr. Warton) to be ranked as one of the first English poets, on account of his admirable artifice in painting the manners, which none before him had ever attempted, even in the most imperfect degree; and

and it should be remembered to his honour, that he was the first who gave the English nation in its own language, an idea of *humour*."

The learned and ingenious Roger Ascham, speaking of Chaucer, calls him the *ENGLISH HOMER*; and also adds, that he values his authority equal to that of Sophocles, or Euripides, in Greek. And the celebrated Sir Philip Sydney, in his *Defence of Poesie*, speaks thus of him: "Chaucer undoubtedly did excellently in his *Trailus and Criseide*; of whom truly I know not whether to marvel more, either that *he*, in that misty time could see so clearly, or *we* in this clear age walk so stumblingly after him," Agreeable to which, Sir John Denham says,

"Old Chaucer, like the morning star,
 "To us discovers day from far;
 "His light those mists and clouds dissolv'd,
 "Which our dark nation long involv'd;
 "But he descending to the shades,
 "Darkness again the age invades."

Mr. Francis Beaumont, speaking of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, tells us, that they "contain in them almost the same argument that is handled in comedies: his stile therein for the most part is low and open, and like unto their's; but herein they differ. The comedy writers do all follow and borrow one of another; as Terence from Plautus and Menander, Plautus from Menander and Demophilus, Statius and Cæcilus from Diphilus, Apollodorus, and Philemon; and almost all the last comedians from that which was called *Antiqua Comedia*. Chaucer's device of his *Canterbury pilgrimage* is merely his own; his drift is to touch all sorts of men, and to discover all the vices in his age; which he doth so feelingly, and with so true an aim, as he never fails to hit whatsoever mark he levels at." He afterwards observes, that our Poet "may rightly be called the pith and sinews of eloquence, and the very life itself of all mirth and pleasant writing; besides, one gift he had above other authors, and that is, by the excellency of his descriptions to possess his readers with a more forcible imagination, of seeing that (as it were) done before their eyes, which they read, than any other that ever hath written in any tongue."

But the great merit of our author is set in the most conspicuous point of view by Mr. Dryden, who was not only a great poet, but an admirable critic. "As Chaucer (says he) is the Father of English poetry, so I hold him in the same degree of veneration as the Grecians held Homer, or the Romans Virgil: he is a perpetual fountain of good sense, learned in all sciences, and therefore speaks properly on all subjects; as he knew what to say, so he knew also when to leave off; a continence, which is practised by few writers, and scarcely by any of the antients,
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excepting Virgil and Horace. Chaucer followed nature every where, but was never so bold as to go beyond her : and there is a great difference of being *Poeta* & *nimis Poeta*, if we may believe Catullus, as much as betwixt a modest behaviour and affectation. The verse of Chaucer, I confess, is not harmonious to us, but it is like the eloquence of one whom Tacitus commends, it was *auribus istius temporis accommodata* : they who lived with him, and some time after him, thought it musical, and it continues so, even in our judgment, if compared with the numbers of Lydgate and Gower, his cotemporaries : there is the rude sweetness of a Scotch tune in it, which is natural and pleasing, though not perfect. It is true, I cannot go so far as he who published the last edition of him ; for he would make us believe the fault is in our ears, and that there are really ten syllables in a verse, where we find but nine : but this opinion is not worth confuting.——That equality of numbers in every verse, which we call *heroic*, was either not known, or not always practised in Chaucer's age.——We can only say, that he lived in the infancy of our poetry, and that nothing is brought to perfection at the first. We must be children before we grow men. There was an Ennius, and in process of time a Lucilius and a Lucretius, before Virgil and Horace ; even after Chaucer, there was a Spenser, a Harrington, a Fairfax, before Waller and Denham were in being : and our numbers were in their nonage, till these last appeared.”

“ He must (Mr. Dryden afterwards adds) have been a man of a most wonderful comprehensive nature, because, as it has been truly observed of him, he has taken into the compass of his *Canterbury Tales*, (*g*) the various manners and humours, as we now call them, of the whole English nation, in his age. Not a single character has escaped him. All his pilgrims are severally distinguished from each other, and not only in their inclinations,

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(*g*) It may perhaps not be disagreeable to the reader, if we should here lay before him a short representation of the general plan of Chaucer's great work, his *Canterbury Tales*. He pretends, that intending to pay his devotions to the shrine of Thomas a Becket, he set up his horse at the Tabbard - Inn, in Southwark. That he found in the inn a number of pilgrims, who severally proposed the same journey ; and that they all agreed to sup together, and to set out the next morning on the same party. The supper being finished, the landlord, who is described as a fellow of sense and drollery, makes a proposal to them, That in order to divert them on their journey, each of them should be obliged to tell two stories,

one going, the other coming back, and that whoever in the judgment of the company should succeed best in the art of tale-telling, by way of recompence, at their return to his inn, should be intitled to a supper at the common cost ; which proposal assented to, he promises to be their governor and guide. At the entrance of the poem, the characters of all the pilgrims are distinctly drawn, and a plan of the comedy, in which they stand for the *Dramatis Personæ*. Besides this, every tale has its prologue, and a kind of epilogue too, which serves by way of transition to the next ; and to the honour of our author be it spoken, so far as his plan is executed, (for it is not completed) every part of it is performed with equal

inclinations, but in their physiognomies and persons. Baptista Porta could not have described their natures better, than by the marks which the Poet gives them. The matter and manner of their tales, and of their telling, are so suited to their different educations, humours, and callings, that each of them would be improper in any other mouth. Even the grave and serious characters are distinguished by their several sorts of gravity; their discourses are such as belong to their age, their calling, and their breeding; such as are becoming of them, and of them only. Some of his persons are vicious, and some virtuous; some are unlearned, or (as Chaucer calls them) lewd, and some are learned. Even the ribaldry of the low characters is different: the Reeve, the Miller, and the Cook, are several men, and distinguished from each other, as much as the mincing Lady Priores, and the broad speaking gap-tooth'd Wife of Bath. But enough of this: there is such a variety of game springing up before me, that I am distracted in my choice, and know not which to follow. It is sufficient to say, according to the proverb, that here is God's plenty. We have our fore-fathers and great grand-dames all before us, as they were in Chaucer's days; their general characters are still remaining in mankind, and even in England; though they are called by other names than those of Monks and Friars, of Chanons, and Lady Abbesses, and Nuns: for mankind is ever the same, and nothing lost out of nature, though every thing is altered." — "Boccace lived in the same age with Chaucer, had the same genius, and followed the same studies: both writ novels, and each of them cultivated his mother tongue. — In the serious part of poetry, the advantage is wholly on Chaucer's side; for though the Englishman has borrowed many tales from the Italian, yet it appears that those of Boccace were not generally of his own making, but taken from authors of former ages, and by him

equal justice and spirit; and in particular, the character of the host, who may be said to answer the same purpose as the chorus in the ancient drama, is most admirably kept up, and the same wit, spirit, and humour, is preserved through the whole journey, that strikes the reader so much at the beginning, where this incomparable character is drawn at full length.

As to the point of characterizing, in which Chaucer was most singularly happy, you can name (says Mr. Ogle) no author, even of antiquity, whether in the comic or in the satiric way, equal, at least, superior to him. And it was not, the same writer afterwards adds, to the distinguishing of character from character, that the

excellence of Chaucer was confined: he was equally master of introducing them properly on the stage; and after having introduced them, of supporting them agreeably to the part they were formed to personate. In this he claims equal honour with the best comedians; there is no admirer of Plautus, Terence, or Aristophanes, that will pretend to say, Chaucer has not equally, through his *CANTERBURY TALES*, supported his characters.

All Chaucer's characters, and many of his tales, have been modernized by Mr. Dryden, Mr. Pope, Mr. Betton, Mr. Ogle, and others; and collected together, and published by Mr. Ogle, in three volumes, octavo.

him only modelled; so that what was of invention in either of them, may be judged equal. But Chaucer has refined on Boccace; and has mended the stories which he has borrowed, in his way of telling, though prose allows more liberty of thought, and the expression is more easy, when unconfined by numbers. Our countryman carries weight, and yet wins the race at disadvantage."

The following is a list of his works, in the order, as well as can be collected, in which he wrote them.

1. *The Court of Love*.—This was written while he was at Cambridge, about the eighteenth year of his age. Though this is the earliest piece of Chaucer's writing which is now extant, yet it appears from this poem itself, that he had written many pieces of the amorous kind before. The ground of this poem is to shew, that the *Court of Love* was a tribunal to which every man owed obedience, and which sooner or later he was obliged to pay. As for himself, Chaucer professes in it, that he was summoned to do suit and service at the age of eighteen; which affords him an opportunity of describing the court, the manner of its proceedings, and the statutes of love by which those proceedings are regulated. This poem is very long, consisting of upwards of fourteen hundred verses, and concludes with the *Festival of Love*; which, with great elegance, our Poet fixes upon the first of May, and makes it celebrated by the birds.

2. *The Craft of Lovers*.—This was written in 1348, which was the twentieth year of his age.

3. *The Remedy of Love*.—Supposed to be written about the same time.

4. *The Lamentation of Mary Magdalen*.—Taken from Origin.

5. A Translation of *Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ*.—William Caxton printed this translation of Boethius by Chaucer, but without any date. In his postscript at the end, Caxton says, that forasmuch as the style is difficult to be understood by simple persons, "therefore, the worshipful Fader and first foundeur and embelisher of ornate eloquence in our English; I mene maister Geffery Chaucer, hath translated this sayd worke oute of Latyn, into oure usual and moder tonge; folowyng the Latyn as neygh as is possible to be understande; wherein, in myne oppynyon, he hath deservid a perpetuell lawde and thanke of all this noble Rovame of England; and in especiall of them that shall rede and understande it."

6. *The Romaunt of the Rose*.—This is a translation from the French, and appears to have been translated by Chaucer while he was at Court; and it is supposed about the time of the rise of

Wickliff's opinions, it consisting of violent invectives against the religious orders.

7. *The Complaint of the black Knight*.---This was written in honour of John of Ghent's courtship of his Dutcheſs Blanch. This is as elegant and harmonious a poem as any of Chaucer's compositions.

8. *Chaucer's Dream*.---This is ſuppoſed to have been written on account of the Duke of Lancaſter's marriage.

9. *The Poem of Troilus and Creſeide*.---This was written in the former part of Chaucer's life, and tranſlated, as he ſays, from Lollius, an hitoriographer of Urbano in Italy. But it is not a cloſe tranſlation; for he has added many things of his own, and borrowed alſo from others, more eſpecially Petrarch. In the fourth book he has inſerted a diſcourſe on Predeſtination, which is entirely his own. Sir Francis Kinaſton, who tranſlated this poem into Latin rhimes, in his manuſcript notes upon it, ſays, that it was not improbably conjectured that Chaucer, in writing the lives and loves of Troilus and Creſeide, glanced at ſome private perſons in the Court of King Edward III. and did not follow Homer, Dares, Dictys, or any hitoriian of thoſe times. However, (ſays he) Chaucer has taken the liberty of his own inventions; he hath made an admirable and inimitable epic poem, deſcribing in Troilus a complete Knight in arms and courtſhip, and a faithful conſtant lover; and in Creſeide, a moſt beautiful and coy Lady, who being once overcome, yields to the frailty of her ſex.

10. *The Houſe of Fame*.---This is an admirable performance, as well in the conſtruction of the fable, as in the eaſe and happineſs of its execution. Mr. Pope took from it the deſign of his *Temple of Fame*.

11. *The Book of Blanch the Dutcheſs*, commonly called *The Dreame of Chaucer*.---This was written upon the death of that Lady.

12. *The Aſſembly of Fowls*.-----This was written before the death of Queen Philippa.

13. *Canterbury Tales*.---Theſe are commonly ſuppoſed to have been written about the year 1383; but it is probable that they were written at different times; and as his deſign is not completed, it is not unlikely that he continued by degrees to make a farther progreſs in this work, till towards the cloſe of his life; when he was probably employed in more ſerious meditations.

14. *The Flower of the Leaf*.---This is judged by Mr. Dryden to be of our author's own invention, after the manner of the Provencals; and he was ſo particularly pleaſed with it, both for the invention and moral, that he recommends it to the reader in a modern dreſs.

15. CHAUCER'S A. B. C. called *La Priere de noſtre Dame*. This was written for the uſe of the Dutcheſs Blanch.

16. *La*

16. *La belle Dame sans Mercy*.-----This was translated from the French of Alain Chartier, secretary to Lewis the Eleventh, King of France.

17. *The Complaint of Mars and Venus*.---This was translated from the French of Sir Otes de Grantson, a French poet. It is supposed to have been written by Chaucer, on account of the marriage of the Lord John Holland, who was one of Chaucer's patrons, with the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the Duke of Lancaster.

18. *The Complaint of Annelida to false Arcite*.

19. *The Legend of gode Women*, called also *The Assembly of Ladies*, and by some *The Nineteene Ladies*.

20. *The Conclusions of the Astrolabie*.---In the introduction to this work, which is addressed to his son Lewis, Chaucer remarks, that it was with great pleasure he observed his growing capacity and earnest passion for learning, which very willingly induced him to yield to his request, of teaching him the use of this instrument. He then proceeds to inform him, that his intention was not to discourse of all, but on the most useful, and those too the most easy operations that might be performed by this curious instrument, as being the fittest for the apprehension of a child of ten years old. He adds, that for the very same reason he wrote them in English, and not in Latin, as conceiving it too much to put so young a person upon learning things unknown, in a tongue of which he had little or no knowledge; and which also he held unnecessary, since the science was the same in whatever language taught, and the practice too had been the same in other nations; for the Greeks wrote their books of astronomy in Greek, the Arabians in Arabic, the Jews in Hebrew, and those to whom the Latin language was familiar in Latin; for assuredly, says he, those who wrote in Latin, had the knowledge of which they wrote, out of other tongues. He would not therefore have him believe, that he knew the less for not gaining his knowledge from that learned language, because, continues he, different tongues lead to the same science, as by many different roads men go to the same city. This work is a master-piece in its kind, and agrees in every respect to what the author proposed to make it; the matter is extremely well disposed, and the subject is treated with great perspicuity.

21. *Of the Cuckow and Nightingale*.

22. *The Testament of Love*.

The ode beginning with, *Fly fro the prese*, &c. which we have given, was, as is before observed, written on his death-bed. Some other small pieces are still extant of his; and some others are attributed to him, which there is reason to believe are not his; and it is also supposed that some of his pieces are lost.

William Caxton printed Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, his Troilus and Creseide, and House of Fame, besides his translation of

of Boetius, already mentioned. In the reign of Henry VIII. William Botteville, alias Thynne, Esq; was the editor of a new edition of Chaucer's works, which he dedicated to the King. Mr. Speght also, by the assistance of the industrious John Stowe, published a new edition of them, which was dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury. Other editions have been published since, and in particular a valuable one by Mr. Urry.

In the year 1526, the Bishop of London prohibited a great number of books which he thought prejudicial to religion and virtue; as did also the King, in 1529, at the instigation of the Bishops: but in so great esteem, and so highly valued, were the works of our Poet, that the Canterbury Tales, Chaucer's works, are exempted from the prohibition of that act.

Caxton had so great a respect for the memory of Chaucer, that he procured a long epitaph to be written in his honour, by Stephanus Surigonus, poet-laureat of Milan, which was hung upon a pillar over-against Chaucer's grave-stone. And about the year 1555, Mr. Nicholas Brigham, a gentleman of Oxford, who himself exercised his talents in poetry, and took great delight in Chaucer's works, and honoured his memory, at his own charge erected a handsome monument for him, near the place where he was buried. Upon that monument Mr. Brigham caused Chaucer's picture to be painted, together with the following inscription, which still remains:

M. S.

*Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer, conditur hoc tumulo:
Annum si quæras Domini, si tempora vitæ,
Ecce notæ subsunt, quæ tibi cuncta notant.
25 Octobris, 1400.*

Ærumnarum requies mors.

*N. Brigham hos fecit Musarum nomine sumptus.
1556.*

IN ENGLISH thus:

Of English bards who sang the sweetest strains,
Old GEOFFREY CHAUCER now this tomb contains:
For his death's date if reader thou should'st call,
Look but beneath, and it will tell thee ail.
25th of October, 1400.

Of cruel cares, the certain cure, is death.

N. Brigham placed these, in the name of the Muses, at
his own expence, 1556.

About

About the ledge of the tomb, we are told, the following verses were written, that are now worn out :

*Si rogitis quis eram, forsau te fama docebit ;
Quod si fama negat, mundi quia gloria transit,
Hæc monumenta lege.*

If who I was you ask, fame shall declare ;
If fame denies, since frail all glories are,
These stones shall speak, inscrib'd with pious
care. (b)

Before we conclude, we will lay before the reader two of Chaucer's characters of his pilgrims, modernized ; and the two which we shall select, will form a very striking contrast.

The

(b) We have before observed, that our Poet's eldest son, Thomas Chaucer, was appointed chief butler to King Henry IV. This office was afterwards confirmed to him for life by that Prince, and also by King Henry V. In the second of Henry IV. he was speaker of the House of Commons; sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, and constable of Wallingford and Knaresborough castles. In the sixth year of the same reign, he was sent Ambassador into France, and the year following he went over sea, joined in commission with the King's brother, and Geoffrey Chaucer's nephew, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. In the ninth year of the same reign, the Commons presented him their speaker, as they did likewise in the eleventh year. In the twelfth year of that reign, Queen Jane granted to him, for his good services, the manor of Wodestoke, Hannebrough, Wotton, and Stuntesfield, during life ; and in the thirteenth year he was again presented speaker, as he was in the second of Henry V. In the same year he was sent by that King, in joint commission with Hugh Mortimer, to treat of a marriage with Catherine, daughter to the Duke of Burgundy. He was likewise Ambassador in the fifth and sixth years of the same reign, with Walter Hungerford, steward of the household, in the same affair ; and again, in the sixth year of the same reign, he was Ambassador

for peace with France : and he passed through several other public stations, as appears from records. The chief place of his residence was at Ewelme in Oxfordshire, where he died in the year 1434, and lies buried in that parish church, under a black marble tomb, with the effigies of him and his wife upon the tomb in brass plates. Thomas Chaucer, by his wife Maud, who survived him two years, had one daughter named Alice, who was thrice married ; first to Sir John Philips, Knight, and afterwards to Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who dying, left her very rich : her third husband was the famous William de la Pole, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Suffolk, by whom she had one son, John, Duke of Suffolk. Duke William was an instance of the danger of a Prince's favour, especially when it is made an ill use of. For influencing the notions and the will of his master Henry VI. too much, and abusing the power he had over that easy Prince, he enraged the Commons to such a degree, that nothing less than his banishment could appease them ; which being agreed to, the Yorkists, fearful of his return, seized him on his passage in Dover road, and cut off his head upon the side of a cock-boat ; and his body was buried at the Charter-House in Hull. The Dutchess survived him several years, and after an honourable life died at Ewelme in the year 1475.

The MONK modernized by Mr. BETTERTON.

Next these a merry Monk appears in place,
 Who follow'd hunting more than saying mass.
 As bravely mounted, as a Lord from Court,
 No well-fed Abbot bore a comelier port.
 And when in state he ambled, all might hear
 The jingling of his bridle, loud and clear ;
 As far, almost, as any chapel bell.
 This lordly Monk, once keeper of a cell,
 Held good St. Bennet's order too severe ;
 St. Maure to his nice judgment did appear
 Too strict and rigid, for old dotards fit,
 But scorn'd by priests of spirit and of wit.
 One scripture-text he blotted with his pen,
 That says, all hunters are ungodly men.
 What shoals of converts would this doctrine raise !
 Shall Monks in study pass laborious days ?
 Turn o'er dull fathers, and worm-eaten books,
 With dazzled eyes, and melancholy looks ;
 Toil with their hands to make the garden neat,
 Turn cooks, and baste the roast with their own sweat ?
 This Austin humbly did : Did he ? (saith he)
 Austin may do the same again for me.
 He lov'd the chace, the hound's melodious cry,
 Hounds that ran swiftly as the swallows fly.
 His sleeves, I saw, with furs all lin'd within,
 From Russia brought, the finest squirrel's skin ;
 (Hair shirts, he said, provok'd the blood to sin.)
 His hood beneath, his double chin to hold,
 'Twas fasten'd with a curious clasp of gold.
 A love-knot at the greater end there was ;
 His head close shav'd, and smooth as any glass.
 His strutting paunch was seldom disappointed,
 His broad full face shone as it were anointed.
 His eyes were sleepy, rolling in his head,
 That steam'd like furnaces of molten lead.
 Supple his boots, his horse he proudly fat ;
 You'd take him for a Bishop by his state :
 Fasts had not made him meagre like a ghost,
 But fat he was, and goodly as mine host.
 A fat plump swan he lov'd, young, but full grown,
 His horse was sleek, and as the berry brown.

The CLERK or SCHOLAR of OXFORD,
Modernized by Mr. OGLE.

A Clerk of Oxford, next appear'd in fight,
 Who spent on logic many a day and night.

Lank

Lank as a rake, the steed on which he sat;
 And, sooth to say, the man was nothing fat.
 Of aspect sober, as of body lean,
 Effect of contemplation more than spleen.
 Hollow his vest, and thread-bare was his coat,
 A youth of worth he look'd, tho' not of note.
 For he, nor benefice had got, nor cure,
 No patron, yet so worldly to insure!
 So dext'rous yet, of body, or of face,
 To circumvent no chaplain, with his Grace:
 Nor fulsome dedication could he write!
 Drudge for a dame, or pander for a Knight!
 Much rather had he range, beside his bed,
 A score of authors unadorn'd in red,
 With Aristotle, champion of the schools;
 To mend his ways by philosophic rules;
 Than basely to a vic'rage owe his rise,
 By courting folly, or by flattery vice;
 Than flourish like a prebend in his stall:
 That way, he held, was not to *rise*, but *fall*.
 Nor would he be the man, for all his rent;
 Nam'd you the priest of Bray, or priest of Trent!
 One search of science, he forgot alone,
 An useful search! the philosophic stone!
 Hence, tho' his head much learned wealth might hold;
 Yet held he, in his coffer, little gold:
 And late, that stock, a foreign journey drain'd,
 Curious to see, what yet of Rome remain'd.
 Not to the dead that he confin'd his looks,
 The living he could read, and men with books;
 Yet most on books, what he acquires, he spends,
 From care of parents, or from love of friends!
 And these, unbound, or bound, his chambers strow,
 A choice collection, bought for use, not show!
 There oft, in secret, pray'd the grateful youth,
 For those that put him in the way of truth;
 That gave the means, just precepts to instill;
 Or taught him to distinguish good from ill.
 Thus grounded well, he study'd to proceed;
 And not a word-spoke more than there was need.
 'Twas short or close, sententious or sublime,
 And urg'd with modesty, and said in time.
 For to instruct, he rather wish'd, than strove,
 Willing to be improv'd, or to improve!
 Still turn'd to moral virtue was his speech,
 And gladly would he learn, and gladly teach.

The Life of Sir JOHN OLDCASTLE, Lord COBHAM.

NOtwithstanding the ignorance and superstition which in general prevailed at the period in which Wickliff made his appearance, such was the strength of reason, and the force of argument, which appeared in that great Reformer's writings, and in his public preaching, that the number of those who espoused his opinions was very great. Those who were unequal to the task of investigating truth themselves, were yet able to see it when it was pointed out to them. The greater number of his disciples were, however, of the lower class of people; at least there were not many who publicly espoused his opinions, of any considerable rank. For, as the ingenious Mr. Gilpin observes, "it is a common observation, that the vulgar are generally the most open to conviction. The Great are attached to establishments, in which their interests are concerned: the learned to systems, in which their time hath been spent." It appears, however, very clearly, by the respect which was paid to Wickliff, even by the Parliament, that his arguments had made a great impression upon the higher ranks of people; and the names of several persons of condition, who greatly favoured his opinions, if they were not absolutely his disciples, are handed down to us; (i) and it is manifest, that he had many more proselytes, among the middle rank of people. It is nevertheless certain, that Sir JOHN OLDCASTLE, Lord COBHAM, the illustrious person whose life we are now entering upon, was more warm and zealous in his attachment to the principles of Wickliff, and hazarded more in their defence, than any other person of rank of his time; and for his noble firmness, and generous efforts, in the cause of truth, and religious liberty, his name will ever be revered by every consistent protestant, however injuriously his memory may have been treated by some modern historians.

Sir JOHN OLDCASTLE was born in the reign of King Edward the Third. Of the earlier part of his life no particular account

(i) Particularly Joan, Dowager to the Black Prince, and Anne, Queen to Richard II. Sir Richard Story, Sir Thomas Talbot, Sir Thomas Latimer, and Sir John Cheney. As to

the Duke of Lancaster, it may be insinuated, that he espoused the cause of Wickliff chiefly from his aversion to the Clergy.

account is transmitted down to us. He married the niece and heiress of Henry, Lord Cobham; a nobleman who had with great virtue and patriotism opposed the tyranny of Richard the Second; and by his marriage with this Lady he obtained his Peerage. In 1393, our Lord Cobham, who seems to have taken possession of the spirit, as well as the estate and title of his father-in-law, gave a public evidence of his dislike to the Papal See. The famous statute against Provisors, which had been enacted in the reign of King Edward the Third, was almost totally disregarded during the weak government of Richard: Lord Cobham, therefore, and some others who were well affected to the same cause, undertook the revival of it. Cobham exerted himself in this affair with great spirit; and his arguments made such an impression on the Parliament, that he and his friends carried their point. The statute against Provisors was confirmed, and the statute of Premunire was passed against all that purchased or solicited, in the Court of Rome, or elsewhere, any translations of Bishops, processes, and sentences of excommunication, bulls, instruments, or any thing else, to the prejudice of the King, his Crown, or kingdom. And both Houses of Parliament declared, that they would stand by him with their lives and fortunes against all processes in the Court of Rome, about rights of patronage, bulls, and mandates, and all attempts against his Crown and Royalty. (*) Boniface IX. who was then Pope, was alarmed at these measures of the English Parliament, and had dispatched a Nuncio immediately to check their proceedings. This Minister at first cajoled, and afterwards threatened; but such was the spirit which had been excited in the English Parliament, that his artifices and his menaces were equally unsuccessful.

About two years after, we find Lord Cobham making another effort in the same cause. A rebellion having arisen in Ireland, Richard went over thither with an army. During the King's absence, the Lord Cobham, Sir Richard Story, Sir Thomas Latimer, and others of the reforming party, made some attempts towards the reformation of the Clergy. And having collected their strength, they drew up a number of articles against the corruptions which then prevailed amongst churchmen, and presented them, in the form of a remonstrance, to the House of Commons. This step greatly alarmed the Clergy; and accordingly,

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(*) Some time before this, the Pope's agent had been obliged to swear, that he would be true to the King and his Crown, and keep his laws and rights inviolate; that he would take no step that should be prejudicial to the Royal authority, or the laws of the kingdom, nor execute any papal bulls or mandates, to

the detriment of the King, or contrary to the laws of the realm; that he would not receive or publish any of the Pope's letters, without having first communicated them to the Council; nor send any money or plate out of the kingdom, without a special licence from the King, or his Council.

cordingly, when Richard had already made one campaign in Ireland, and was preparing to take the field early in the spring of the year 1395, the Archbishop of Canterbury arrived at his camp, and entreated his Majesty to return into England, and put a stop to the ruin of the church; for that was the light in which the good Archbishop thought proper to view the intended reformation. The Archbishop also represented the Wickliffites as enemies to the state, as well as to the church; and practised so artfully on the weak and jealous disposition of Richard, that he abandoned a fair prospect of reducing Ireland, and returned immediately to England, in order to defend the church, and put a stop to the designs of the heretics. After Richard's arrival, the Wickliffites were threatened with death, if they persisted in their errors; and the Chancellor of Oxford was ordered to expel all those who were suspected of favouring their opinions.

Besides these instances of Lord Cobham's attachment to the principles of the reformers, he likewise put himself to great expence in collecting and transcribing the works of Wickliff, and dispersed them, without any reserve, among the common people. (1) He also maintained a great number of the disciples of Wickliff, as itinerant preachers in many parts of the country, particularly in the dioceses of Canterbury, London, Rochester, and Hereford. And as he took so little pains to conceal his opinions, and acted publicly in this manner, he was considered as the head of the reforming party, and consequently drew upon himself the resentment of the whole body of the Clergy, and was more obnoxious to them than any other man at that time in England.

The arbitrary and oppressive government of Richard II. having rendered him universally odious to the nation, a strong party was formed, which was in general attended by the good wishes of the nation, in order to depose Richard, and raise Henry of Lancaster to the Throne. Lord Cobham was always a friend both to the civil and religious liberties of his country. He had followed the steps of his father-in-law, in opposing the tyranny of Richard, and had more than once felt the effects of his resentment. Convinced therefore of the weakness and wickedness of Richard's government, and his unworthiness to sway the sceptre, he was one of the first who attached themselves to the fortunes of Henry; and was received by him with those marks

(1) John Bale says, that Lord Cobham caused all the works of Wickliff to be written at the desire of John Huss, and to be sent into Bohemia, France, Spain, and other countries. And it appears, that the Archbishop of Prague, being alarmed at the progress which the tenets of

Wickliff made in Bohemia, ordered all who were possessed of any of the works of Wickliff, to bring them to him. Accordingly many copies of different parts of his writings (we are told above two hundred) were brought; which the Archbishop immediately condemned to the flames.

marks of favour, which, from his rank and consequence, he had reason to expect.

Upon the accession of Henry the Fourth to the Throne, it was universally imagined that he was in his heart inclined to the opinions of the reformers. But Henry was actuated more by policy, than by religion; and, therefore, upon examining the state of parties in England, finding that the ecclesiastical interest was the best able to support his pretensions, without farther hesitation he attached himself to that. On the day of his coronation, he created his eldest son Henry, at that time in the thirteenth year of his age, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. The next day the Parliament assembled at Westminster; and the first business of the session was to pass an act of indemnity in favour of those who had taken up arms for the House of Lancaster. They afterwards repealed those statutes of the Parliaments convoked by Richard, which had granted such prerogatives to the King, as were inconsistent with the liberty of the subject. They also enacted a law against a bull, which Richard had solicited, and obtained from the Pope, to enforce and confirm the proceedings of his Parliament. As this was in effect an acknowledgment of the Pope's sovereignty over England, the Commons declared in this act, that the kingdom of England was independent of all foreign power; and that the Pope in particular had no right to intermeddle in the civil government of the kingdom. When the rights and liberties of the people were properly established, the Parliament proceeded against those evil Counsellors, who had advised those excesses which Richard committed in the latter part of his reign; and this enquiry produced such violent disputes, as were near terminating in slaughter; so that Henry himself was obliged to interpose, and compromise their differences. The Earl of Salisbury and Lord Morley, who had been principally concerned in the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, and the arbitrary measures of Richard, received no other punishment than that of a short imprisonment, Henry being willing to begin his reign with acts of clemency; though the people loudly demanded, that they should be put to death as traitors to their country. The succession to the Crown was established in the House of Lancaster by an authentic act, and Henry published a general pardon; from which, however, he excepted the murderers of the Duke of Gloucester.

The affairs of the kingdom being settled in this Parliament, to the satisfaction of Henry and the people, he dissolved that assembly, and sent Ambassadors to France, with proposals of a league and perpetual alliance between the two Crowns, to be cemented by a double marriage; one between the Prince of Wales and one of the daughters of France, and the other between Henry's daughter and one of the sons of the French King. But that Monarch being interested in the cause of the
late

late King Richard, who was his son-in-law, the Ambassadors met with a very cold reception. As to the other Princes of Europe, it does not appear that they testified any disapprobation at the accession of Henry. But as Richard was born, and for some time bred at Bourdeaux, his countrymen the Gascons discovered a strong resentment at his deposition, and seemed inclined to revolt. But the advantages they drew from the English commerce, hindered them from taking this step, and disposed them to receive the Lord Piercy for their governor, who was sent over with that title by King Henry. Robert III. King of Scotland, who took it for granted that the late revolution in England would be attended with domestic dissensions, invaded and ravaged the northern counties, and took the castle of Werk in Northumberland. Henry, whose interest it was to avoid foreign quarrels, sent Ambassadors to Scotland, to demand reparation for this insult, and, at the same time, to propose a renewal of the truce; to which Robert the more readily assented, as he perceived the French King took no step to the prejudice of Henry. When the difference with Scotland was compromised, the King neglected no opportunity to recommend himself to the affections of his people; on all occasions he expressed the utmost horror at the arbitrary proceedings of his predecessor; and affected to consult the interests of his subjects, preferably to his own.

But notwithstanding this, a dangerous conspiracy was formed against Henry, by the Dukes of Aumerle, Surry, and Exeter, the Earls of Gloucester and Salisbury, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Abbot of Westminster, and Sir Thomas Blount. The conspiracy, however, was discovered, before the conspirators had time to put their designs properly into execution; but they nevertheless assembled a considerable army, with which they began their march to Windsor, hoping to take the King by surprise. They had engaged as their tool one Maudlin, who had been chaplain to Richard, and who resembled that Prince so exactly in his features and person, that they thought they might easily impose him upon the people for that Monarch. They accordingly produced him for that purpose, affirming that he was Richard escaped from prison, and come to implore the assistance of his subjects; by which means the chiefs of the conspiracy prevailed on many to join them. Henry had retired, during the preceding night, to London, where he assembled a body of twenty thousand men, and marched back as far as Hounslow Heath, in order to give battle to the rebels, if they should take the route to the capital. But they were so much discouraged by the resolution and dispatch of Henry, that, instead of advancing, they retreated from Colebroke, and encamped without the gates of Cirencester. The confederated Chiefs took up their quarters in that town; but they having neglected to place proper guards at the avenues of it, the Mayor
of

of Cirencester assembled four hundred men in the night, and securing the gates, so as to exclude the troops who were encamped without the walls, attacked the Chiefs in their quarters. The Duke of Surry, and Earl of Salisbury, were taken and beheaded on the spot by the Mayor's order; the Duke of Exeter, and the Earl of Gloucester, escaped out of the town, and repaired to the camp, with a design to storm the town at the head of their forces; but they found the tents and baggage abandoned by the soldiers, who had fled with the utmost precipitation; concluding, from the noise and tumult which they heard of fighting within the town, that a detachment of the King's army had entered the place. Henry, advancing to Cirencester, found the rebels already dispersed, and proceeded from thence to Oxford; where twenty-eight persons, who had followed the Duke of Exeter, were executed: the Earl of Gloucester, and the Lord Lumley, who was also concerned in the conspiracy, were beheaded by the populace at Bristol; the Duke of Exeter was taken and beheaded in Essex, without any form of trial, though he had married Henry's own sister; and Maudlin and three others were executed at Tyburn. Thus this rebellion against Henry was entirely quelled; but it is supposed to have precipitated the fate of the unhappy Richard, for his death happened soon after. The French King had made preparations for invading England, in order to restore his son-in-law to the throne; but as soon as the death of Richard was known at the Court of France, all thoughts of an invasion were laid aside. The truce between the two nations was renewed for twenty-six years, and King Richard's young Queen was sent back again into her own country.

Shortly after, Robert King of Scotland declared war against England, Henry having refused to deliver up George Dunbar, the Scottish Earl of Marche; who thinking himself injured by his Prince, had retired into England, and from thence made incursions into Lothain, in conjunction with the famous Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur. And the King of Scotland making preparations to invade England, Henry levied an army, which rendezvoused at Newcastle, and from thence sent an herald to summon the Scottish King to meet him at Edinburgh on a fixed day, to do homage for his kingdom; and immediately entered Scotland, ravaging the country in his progress to Edinburgh with fire and sword, burning towns and cities, and filling Scotland with consternation and terror. He invested the castle of Edinburgh, which was vigorously defended by the Earl of Douglas, and David, Prince of Scotland. During the siege, the Duke of Albany, who was invested with the government of the kingdom, on account of the King of Scotland's sickness, sent an herald to King Henry, protesting upon his honour, that if he would remain there only six days, he would come and give him battle, and either raise the siege, or lose his life. The King

King liberally rewarded the herald, and promised, on the word of a Prince, to continue there till the time fixed by the Duke of Albany. However, a much more considerable time elapsed, but the Duke did not think proper to appear. Upon which King Henry, finding he could not make himself master of the castle, and being distressed for want of provisions, and the winter approaching, returned into his own dominions; to which he was farther induced by the news of a formidable insurrection in Wales, headed by the famous Owen Glendower. (m)

In 1401, it being found that the number of the Lollards, which was the name now generally given to the Wickliffites, was continually increasing, it was, by the influence of the Ecclesiastics, enacted, that none should preach without a license from the Bishop of the diocese. However, this and the other laws in being were thought insufficient for the protection of the Church, and to prevent the growth of heresy. The Clergy were desirous of having a shorter and easier method of defending the doctrines of the Church, than by the tedious and difficult one of reason and argument. They therefore gave the King to understand, that nothing would more attach the Clergy to his interests, than his exerting himself for the protection of the Church; by which was meant procuring a law to be enacted for the burning of heretics. The King does not appear to have discovered any great reluctance; but the Commons, many of whom thought favourably of Wickliff, were very averse to such sanguinary proceedings. An act, however, was at length passed, empowering the Clergy to the extent of their wishes; but this passed not but with the utmost stretch of the King's authority. And Fox says, that he cannot find that it ever did pass the Commons;

(m) OWEN GLENDOWER (or GLENDOURDWY) had been educated as a lawyer at the Inns of Court, and afterwards served Richard II. as one of his body Esquires. He possessed an estate in Wales, and was descended by his mother from Llewellyn ap Griffith, the last Prince of that country. He conceived himself injured in the issue of a law suit with the Lord Grey of Ruthyn, that Nobleman having obtained a verdict against him. Irritated at this, he endeavoured to excite his countrymen the Welch to rebellion. He exhorted them to take up arms against the English, in order to maintain their liberty and independence, and to resume their ancient laws and customs; and, by his eloquence, prevailed upon them not only to renounce their dependence upon England, but also to declare him their Prince and Sove-

reign, as the lineal descendant from Llewellyn ap Griffith. He then attacked the town of Ruthyn, in resentment for the injury he supposed himself to have received from Lord Grey, and plundered and reduced it to ashes. He afterwards gave battle to Lord Grey, to whose assistance a body of troops had been sent, defeated him, took him prisoner, and compelled him to marry his daughter. Emboldened by this success, Owen made an irruption into the county of Hereford; and Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, who to avoid giving umbrage to Henry, lived in a retired manner at Wigmore castle, thinking this a favourable opportunity to acquire the favour of the King, raised a body of twelve thousand men to stop the progress of this Welch invader. The two armies meeting at Pilleth in Radnorshire,

Commons; but supposes, that as parliamentary affairs were then managed with little regularity, it was huddled in among other acts, and signed by the King without farther notice. It is indeed by no means improbable, that this act might be passed without the consent of the Commons; for in the next reign we

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shire, a desperate engagement ensued, in which the English were totally defeated, after having lost eleven hundred men, who were killed on the field of battle, and the Earl of March himself was taken prisoner. Owen refused to admit him to ransom, supposing that a person of his consequence would be redeemed by a formal negotiation, which would give him an opportunity of treating with King Henry as an independent Prince. But he was mistaken in his conjecture; for Henry was not displeased at the captivity of Edmund Mortimer, on account of his pretensions to the throne; and therefore politically, though very ungenerously, refused to take any measures for his release: upon which Owen, perceiving the King's drift, altered his scheme, and projected an alliance with his prisoner. But, in the mean while, he advanced to the side of the Severn, and ravaged the country without opposition. Upon which King Henry, at the head of a numerous army, marched into Wales against him.—As Owen retired before him, he ravaged the principality, and burned the monastery of Strathflor; but his army being distressed for want of provisions, and several of his detached parties cut off by Owen, he soon returned without having obtained any advantage over the Welch chieftain. Owen, who had prudently avoided a general engagement, was no sooner informed of his retreat, than he descended from the mountains, burned the suburbs of Poole in Montgomeryshire, and laid waste the county adjoining. He then repaired with a small body of troops to the hills of Plumlymmon, which he had appointed for the rendezvous of his forces, and from thence sent out detachments to ravage the county of Pembroke, and the neighbourhood of Cardigan, inhabited by the descendants of those

Flemish and English Families who had formerly settled in that country; but these assembling together to the number of fifteen hundred, surrounded him so suddenly and unexpectedly in one of his incursions, that he must have been taken, had not he and his men made a desperate effort of courage, and attacked their enemies with such fury, that they entirely routed them.—This victory added greatly to the reputation of Owen, whose countrymen began to consider him as the person destined to restore their former independency, and flocked to his standard from all quarters. King Henry, alarmed at his success, soon after invaded Wales again; but Owen again retiring to his fastnesses, the King was unable to do any thing of consequence against him, and therefore marched back to London, extremely disgusted with his ill success. But some time after, he assembled another large army to take vengeance on the daring Welchman. The rendezvous of the King's forces was now at Shrewsbury, where he divided them into three bodies, giving the command of one to the Prince of Wales, and of another to the Earl of Arundel, while he conducted the third himself. These divisions entered Wales at three different places, in order to surround Owen, who had retired to the mountains of Snowdon. But the weather was so tempestuous, that it was scarcely possible to keep the field, and they were obliged to retire without having performed any military exploit. The King was extremely mortified at three successive miscarriages; and is said to have employed treacherous means to take away the life of Owen, who baffled all his designs of perfidy, as well as open war. Indeed the success of Owen appeared so extraordinary to the English, that he was considered

find the lower House of Parliament petitioning, that no act or statute might pass without their assent. However, it was now enacted, that upon a certificate of the diocesan Bishop, or his commissaries, delivering those who either refused to abjure their heresy, or relapsed after abjuration, over to the secular arm, the civil magistrate should receive their bodies, and cause them to be burnt in public. William Sautre, a Lollard, and rector of St. Osithe's in London, was the first man who was put to death on this statute. Sentence was pronounced against him in the ecclesiastical court, immediately after the act was passed; so eager were they to proceed to the extirpation of heresy! It is generally supposed, that this is the first instance of burning for heresy in England. But we find that in the reign of Henry III. a Deacon, for apostatizing to Judaism, was first degraded at a council at Oxford, and afterwards sentenced to the stake by the secular power. And an old
chronicle

dered as a magician, and supposed to have made a compact with the devil. In 1403, the Earl of Northumberland, and his son the famous Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, having conceived an extreme disgust at some affront they supposed themselves to have received from the King, had formed a design to dethrone him. The Earl of Worcester, brother to the Earl of Northumberland, also entered heartily into the quarrel; and proposed a correspondence with Mortimer, Earl of March, who had now married Glendower's daughter. Accordingly that Nobleman, with his father-in-law, readily concurred in a scheme for dethroning Henry, and raising Mortimer, as the true heir of blood, to the throne of England. The Earl of Douglas, and other Scottish prisoners, who had been taken some time before, by the Earl of Northumberland and his son Hotspur, were engaged as their associates, on condition of being released without ransom. If the design had succeeded, Glendower was to have been gratified with all the counties to the westward of the Severn. The army, however, which the discontented Lords had assembled, was totally defeated by King Henry in person about three miles from Shrewsbury; and Hotspur, who fought with great impetuosity, was killed upon the spot. The King exposed himself in this engagement like the meanest soldier in his

army; and the historians affirm that he slew six and thirty men with his own hand. Douglas also greatly distinguished himself in this battle, as did likewise on the other side, Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Henry V. This battle was fought before Glendower had joined them, who was on his march towards them with upwards of twelve thousand men. In 1404, Glendower reduced the castles of Harlech and Aberystwith, defeated a considerable body of English near Monmouth, and ravaged the country as far as the banks of the Severn. In short, his success was so great, that no Englishman on the Marches could possess his estate, without submitting to his dominion; and he was joined by many of King Henry's subjects, among whom was Trevor, Bishop of St. Asaph. In 1405, the King assembled a body of forces, the command of which he bestowed upon the Prince of Wales, who marched thither in the spring, and routed part of the Welch army. The Prince still continued to advance after this action; and in two months fought another battle, in Monmouthshire, against a body of eight thousand men, commanded by Griffith, Glendower's eldest son, who was routed and taken prisoner, his uncle Tudor being killed upon the spot. The Welch would have been more dispirited by this bad success, had they not expected powerful assistance

chronicle of London mentions one of the Albigenſes being burnt in the year 1210. But by what law theſe were condemned, we know not.

We have no account of Lord Cobham's conduct with reſpect to this act for the burning of heretics. But it cannot be doubted, that he exerted all his abilities and influence againſt it. "That wicked and ambitious men (ſays the ingenious and candid Mr. Gilpin) ſhould wade through blood to ſupport either civil or eccleſiaſtical tyranny, is too common a ſight to be matter of ſurprize. But that any ſet of men ſhould ſo far pervert their notions of right and wrong, as calmly to believe that a few erroneous opinions could make a man in the higheſt degree criminal, however excellent his life might be, is a thing

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diſtance from the French Court, the Duke of Orleans having, notwithstanding the truce which ſubſiſted with England, engaged in a league with Glendower. Accordingly, this year the Marſhal de Montmorency arrived in Wales with a numerous fleet from which he landed twelve thouſand men; then, joining Glendower, took Caermarthen, Worcester, and ſeveral other places, ravaging the country with fire and ſword, and carrying off an immense booty. King Henry marched himſelf to ſtop the progreſs of theſe invaders; but he was ſo retarded by bad weather, that, before he arrived in the Marches of Wales, the French auxiliaries were embarked. For though the fleet which brought theſe French troops, which is ſaid to have conſiſted of an hundred and forty ſail, had ſafely landed them, yet the Lord Berkley, and Henry Pay, who commanded the Squadron of the Cinque Ports, having attacked the French ſhips in Milford Haven, and took fourteen, and burnt fifteen of them, the reſt were ſo frightened, that they ſoon after fled home. However, the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that he could do nothing of importance againſt Glendower; who intercepted fifty waggons, laden with proviſions and money for the ſubſiſtence of the army; which obliged the King to haſten his retreat towards London. In 1407, the Prince of Wales made ſome conſiderable progreſs againſt Glendower, inſomuch that the Parliament expreſſed their ſatisfaction with his conduct; but he ſeems to have been

reſtricted in point of troops or money; for though he reduced the caſtle of Aberystwith, he could not prevent its being immediately recovered by Glendower. In 1408 Prince Henry was ſo ſucceſſful in his operations, that he completed the conqueſt of South Wales, and reduced Harlech in Merionethſhire; ſo that Glendower was in a manner beſieged in Snowdon, where he was greatly ſtrained for ſubſiſtence. From thence he detached part of his troops to ravage Shropſhire, under the command of Rees Du, and Philpot Scudamore, his two beſt officers, who were defeated, taken, and executed at London. As Glendower's fortune began to change, his adherents gradually forſook him; many of whom ſubmitted, and were pardoned by Prince Henry. He himſelf might have obtained the ſame favour, would he have ſtooped to ſubmiſſion. But he choſe rather to lead the remainder of his life in a wandering manner, ſhifting about from place to place, and preſerve his independence, than to purchaſe eaſe and ſafety at the expence of his freedom. He led this fugitive life for two years, ſometimes at the head of a party, and ſometimes quite ſolitary; and at laſt died at his daughter's houſe in Herefordſhire, where he was entertained in the diſguiſe of a ſhepherd.—We have been the more particular in our account of this famous Welch Chieftain, becauſe he appears to have been as remarkable a perſon as any who appeared within the Britiſh dominions during this period.

altogether amazing. And yet charity obligeth us to believe, that many of the Popish persecutors of those times were thus persuaded. "The disciples of Wickliff (says Reinher, a Popish writer,) are men of a serious, modest deportment, avoiding all ostentation in dress, mixing little with the busy world, and complaining of the debauchery of mankind. They maintain themselves wholly (says he) by their own labour, and utterly despise wealth; being fully content with bare necessities. They are chaste and temperate; are never seen in taverns, or amused by the trifling gaieties of life. But you find them always employed, either learning, or teaching. They are concise and devout in their prayers, blaming an unanimated prolixity. They never swear, speak little, and in their public preaching lay the chief stress on charity." All these things (adds Mr. Gilpin) this writer mentions with great simplicity, not as the marks of a virtuous conduct, but as the signs of heresy. A striking instance, among many others, of the little regard paid in those times to morals, in comparison of opinions and outward observances.

If there were no other arguments against the Romish Church, than its intolerant spirit, and the cruel persecutions which have been authorized by it, they alone would be sufficient to demonstrate the absurdity of its pretensions to infallibility, and to being the only true Church. Can any man who has ever read the New Testament, think that it is consistent with the mild, the amiable, the gentle spirit of Christianity, that the professors of it should persecute, torture, and put to cruel deaths, those who are of different opinions from themselves? The Christian religion, which its Divine Author has excellently calculated, to promote among mankind the practice of humanity, benevolence, and every social virtue, has in the Romish Church been made a pretence for the most shocking barbarities. There have been, indeed, some instances of persecution among Protestants, to the very great dishonour of all those who were concerned in them (*n*). But these can come into no degree of comparison with those in the Romish Church, which have been so numerous, that persecution may be considered as one of the characteristic

(*n*) The consistent Protestant, and the judicious friend to Christianity, will see with regret the persecution even of Infidels. He will be sorry to find, that in England there should ever have been any instance of goals or pillories being employed for the conversion of unbelievers. He will consider it as a dishonour to Christianity, to suppose that it stands in need of any such supports. "By persecution (says Dr. Goodman) religion itself is made

odious, and loses its principal glory of being rational; and men are tempted to suspect THAT to be destitute of good proof, which needs to be supported by force. And all religions (like colours in the dark) are alike, when the use of reason is laid aside, and force supplies the place of it. Whenever it becomes the practice to put to death those who will not be converted, it will not seem worth the while to take pains to convince them."

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terific features of Popery. But surely the Christian religion, which inculcates mercy, patience, and charity, upon all its disciples; and the constant tenor of which is tenderness and meekness to those who oppose themselves, and the Great Author of which is represented as an utter enemy to all injurious treatment of any man on the account of his different faith, is highly injured and dishonoured, when it is brought to countenance or support any species of persecution.

But to return to our review of the public transactions of this period.—In 1401, the Earl of Douglas, with some of the principal Scotch Nobility, at the head of thirteen thousand men, entered England, and ravaged the northern borders for some time without opposition. But on their return to Scotland, they were intercepted by a considerable body of English troops, commanded by the Earl of Northumberland, his son Henry Hotspur, the Earl of Dunbar, who was a refugee in England, and the Lord Greystoke. The two armies engaged at Holmedon-hill, on the borders of Northumberland, where the Scots were totally defeated, and the Earl of Douglas, and several other Noblemen, and persons of distinction, taken prisoners. In 1402, a report was industriously spread throughout England, that the late King Richard was still alive, and had levied an army in Scotland, in order to expel King Henry as an usurper. Papers were affixed to the church doors, and other public places, containing the most violent invectives against the King; at which he was so exasperated, that he swore he would never pardon any person who should be convicted of having offered them to the public. And Sir Roger Clarendon, natural son of

The observations on this subject, of that admirable Philosopher, & steady friend to universal liberty, Mr. Locke, are excellent. "Those (says he) who sincerely desire the good of souls, will tread in the steps, and follow the perfect example of that Prince of Peace, who sent out his soldiers to the subduing of nations, and gathering them into his church, not armed with the sword, or other instruments of force, but prepared with the gospel of peace, and with the exemplary holiness of their conversation. This was his method. Though if Infidels were to be converted by force, if those that are either blind or obstinate were to be drawn off from their errors by armed soldiers, we know very well that it was much more easy for him to do it with armies of heavenly legions, than

for any son of the Church; how potent soever, with all his dragoons." Mr. Locke further observes, that "such is the nature of the understanding, that it cannot be compelled to the belief of any thing by outward force. Confiscation of estate, imprisonment, torments, nothing of that nature can have any such efficacy, as to make men change the inward judgment that they have framed of things."—"And I would remind those that contend earnestly for compulsive methods, That the Gospel frequently declares that the true disciples of CHRIST must suffer persecution; but that the Church of CHRIST should persecute others, and force others by fire and sword to embrace her faith and doctrine, I could never yet find in any of the books of the New Testament."

the Black Prince, was taken into custody on suspicion of being concerned in a plot against the government, with the priest of Ware, the prior of Lawne, and nine other Franciscan Friars, who were hanged at Tyburn without any formal conviction. But these severities served only to increase the number of malecontents, and destroyed the opinion which had been conceived of Henry's clemency.

About this time, the French made a descent upon the Isle of Wight, under the command of the Count de St. Pol, who had married an uterine sister of Richard II. and now pretended, in his own name, to revenge the death of his brother-in-law. The Court of France connived at his design, and even furnished him with troops for the enterprize : but he was notwithstanding unsuccessful ; for having plundered some villages, the brave inhabitants of the isle drove him back with dishonour to his ships, without any military assistance. King Henry complained of this invasion to the French Court ; but he could procure no other answer, but that the French King's intention was to observe the truce, which was again confirmed ; and Henry put up with the affront, rather than involve himself in a foreign war, while such discontents prevailed within his own kingdom. The following year, the Duke of Orleans, as champion for Richard's memory, challenged Henry to single combat, at the head of an hundred Knights ; but he rejected this defiance as coming from an inferior ; telling him at the same time, that they might chance to meet in battle, where they would have an opportunity of measuring their swords according to his desire. The Duke was irritated at the contempt with which Henry had treated him, and some bitter reproaches passed between them ; but the French Court did not chuse to come to an open declaration of war.

In 1403, King Henry being a widower, married Joan, daughter of Charles King of Navarre, and now Duchess dowager of Brittany. This marriage was the source of great evils to this kingdom ; for the inhabitants of Brittany conceiving an ill opinion of the marriage, and being powerful at sea, they suddenly landed in the west, and burnt Plymouth, at the time when the King was engaged in opposing the rebellion raised against him by the Earl of Northumberland, and other Lords, of which some account hath already been given. This insult, however, did not long remain unrevenged ; for the inhabitants of Plymouth having fitted out a squadron, under the command of William de Wilford, Admiral of the Narrow Seas, he first took forty ships laden with merchandize, and then burnt the like number in their harbours, took two towns, and ravaged with fire and sword a great part of the coast of Brittany. Admiral de Castel, who commanded the enemy's fleet, in the mean time, attempted the Isle of Wight ; but failing of success there, he
sailed

fleered for Devonshire, where he landed, and briskly attacked Dartmouth, but was defeated by the country militia, with the loss of four hundred men killed, and two hundred taken; among which were himself, and two other persons of distinction; yet his squadron, and the Flemings, still infested the coast, took many ships, and, to shew their inveteracy against the English, hanged all the seamen who fell into their hands.

About the same time, the Earl of Kent sailed with a considerable fleet to the coast of Flanders, where he cruised for some time upon the enemy, the Flemings being then subject to a Prince of the House of France. The English fleet, entering the port of Sluys, took three Genoese merchantmen of a very large size, and afterwards searched all the ports on the Norman coast, and landing in several places, burnt at least six and thirty towns, and then returned to England with an immense booty.

In 1404, the Chancellor, in his speech to the Parliament at the opening of the session, observed that the supplies granted by the late Parliament, had not been adequate to the necessities of government; and shewed the necessity there was, from the situation of affairs, that a considerable subsidy should be granted. The Commons, by way of answer to this demand, went in a body, and presented an address to the King, importing, that without burthening his people, he might relieve the necessities of the State, by seizing the revenues of the Clergy, who possessed one third of the riches in the kingdom, and ought to contribute largely to the occasions of the government, as they were totally exempted from personal service. When the Commons delivered this address to the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury was present. There can be no doubt that the Primate was sufficiently alarmed, at so dangerous an attack upon the Church. He observed the King's countenance; and perceiving that the proposal seemed not disagreeable to him, stood up, and opposed it with great vehemence. Among other things which he urged on behalf of the Clergy, he observed, that the King, in stripping them of their possessions, would put a stop to the prayers which they incessantly offered up to Heaven for the prosperity of the State; and that he could not expect, that God would vouchsafe his protection to the kingdom, if so little regard should be paid to the interest of the Clergy. He declared, that while he occupied the See of Canterbury, he would oppose such injustice to the last moment of his life; and then fell upon his knees before the King, and conjured him, as he valued his eternal salvation, to avoid a step which would not only be a direct violation of his coronation oath, but also oblige the Clergy to proceed to such ecclesiastical censures, as would throw the whole kingdom into confusion. Henry, who might probably be startled by the last insinuation, assured the Archbishop, that his fears were altogether without foundation; for he was determined to maintain the Church in all her rights and privileges. The Primate encouraged

encouraged by this assurance from the King, turned to the Commons, and reproached them for their presumption in presenting such an address, which he attributed to impiety and avarice. The Commons made him no reply; but, however, persisted in their resolution, and brought in a bill for seizing the revenues of the Clergy; but the Ecclesiastics had so much influence among the Nobility, that it was thrown out in the House of Peers.

In 1406, the city of London was afflicted with a dreadful plague, which carried off vast numbers of the inhabitants; and the King, who, to avoid the contagion, had resided part of the summer in Kent, having resolved to visit another country house in Norfolk by sea, went on board a small vessel, attended only by four other ships. But in this short voyage he was attacked by some French privateers; who, after a very brisk engagement, took every vessel but that in which the King was, and carried them off to their own coasts. This convinced Henry of the necessity of keeping better fleets at sea, and therefore he ordered a very strong one to be fitted out the next year, under the command of the Earl of Kent, who effectually scoured the Narrow Seas; and when he had cleared our coasts, stood over to Brittany, and landing in the little island of Briezac, attacked a town there, in which the privateers had taken shelter, took it by storm, and put them all to the sword; but, in the action, himself received a wound which proved mortal.

We find but very few particulars related of Lord Cobham during this reign. But he is frequently spoken of as having been a very brave and experienced officer; he must therefore have been employed in military transactions of which we have now no particular account. "In all adventurous acts of worldly manhood (says Bale) he was ever fortunate, doughty, noble, and valiant." And it is acknowledged by historians, who are by no means partial in his favour, that by his valour and military talents he acquired the esteem both of Henry IV. and Henry V. "He was (says Mr. Guthrie) one of the bravest men, and best officers in England; he had served with great reputation in France; and the opinion of his valour, joined to that of his honesty and piety, had gained him prodigious popularity.

We have seen that it was King Henry's determination, at all events, to be upon good terms with the Clergy, to whom Lord Cobham was extremely obnoxious. However, the King does not appear to have discovered any change towards this Nobleman on that account, who is represented as one of the principal ornaments of his Court. For in the year 1407, he gave him a public testimony of his regard. France being at this time a scene of great disorder, through the competition of the factions headed by the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, Henry thought fit to intermeddle in these troubles, and to assist the Duke of Burgundy;

Burgundy; and to which perhaps he was stimulated, not only by political reasons, but also by the personal affronts he had received from the Duke of Orleans.

In 1410, King Henry having demanded a subsidy to defray the expences of Government, the Commons laid hold of the occasion to renew their address against the Clergy. They presented two addresses to the King, in one of which they represented, that the Clergy made a bad use of their enormous wealth, which ought to be appropriated to the public service of the kingdom; and in the other they petitioned that the act passed against the Lollards might be repealed, or at least mitigated. But Henry, who was now firmly seated on the Throne, began to speak in a more arbitrary strain than he had formerly done. He answered them, with great austerity, that he neither could nor would consent to their petitions; and peremptorily forbade them to meddle for the future with the affairs of the Church, for which he affected to have an extraordinary regard. With respect to the Lollards, he said, that far from consenting to the repeal of the act against them, he wished that a more rigorous statute might be passed, in order to extirpate such an execrable heresy (k).

In 1413, King Henry the Fourth died, and his son was immediately proclaimed by the name of Henry the Fifth. He had given, during the life of his father, remarkable evidences of his valour and military capacity, in the battle of Shrewsbury, and in the war with Glendower; but he had also given a loose to all kinds of debauchery, and was surrounded by a set of profligates, who made a practice of committing acts of violence and injustice (l). But the moment he ascended the Throne of his father, his manners and his sentiments seemed entirely changed.

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(k) This year Henry, to shew he was in earnest, signed a warrant for the execution of a man named Bodby, who was accordingly burned for opposing and denying the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Dr. Smollet, in describing the execution, calls him a POOR FANATIC. The doctor has given no reason for honouring him with that title, but his exclaiming against the doctrine of the real presence in the Sacrament. Perhaps he thought no man but a fanatic would die for religion; for surely the ingenious historian did not mean to intimate, that denying the doctrine of Transubstantiation was an indication of Fanaticism. But this is not the only instance of the doctor's speaking in a contemptuous manner of the Wickliffites. For having occasion to

mention Lord Cobham, he says, "he was extremely popular among the people of his own persuasion, who were generally ENTHUSIASTIC FANATICS." The doctor had, however, before told us, that the majority of the House of Commons leaned towards Lollardism.—See Smollet's Hist. of England, Vol. 4. p. 279, 280, 296. 8vo. edit.

(l) There is a remarkable instance recorded, of the irregularity of his behaviour while Prince of Wales. A servant of his, and who was also probably one of his profligate companions, was arraigned for felony at the King's Bench Bar. The Prince being informed of this, in a great rage went into the Court of King's Bench, and coming up to the Bar, demanded that his servant might be unfettered

changed. He dismissed the companions of his looser hours, and with them his debauchery : he appeared to be actuated only by the most noble and generous principles ; and among his other virtues, piety appeared very conspicuous. The Clergy observed this, and endeavoured to turn it to their own advantage.

Thomas Arundel, a Prelate of great zeal and great bigotry, was at this time Archbishop of Canterbury. The convocation which assembled in the first year of the new King, was directed and influenced by him. The chief subject of their debate was the growth of heresy, and the principal object which the Archbishop had in view was the destruction of Lord Cobham ; for he being considered as the head of the Wickliffites, it was presumed, that if his ruin could be effected, it would strike a terror into all those who adhered to the same tenets. But as Lord Cobham was in favour with the King, and likewise very popular, this was an undertaking which required great caution. The Archbishop therefore contented himself at present with founding the King's sentiments, by requesting an order from his Majesty, to send Commissioners to Oxford, to enquire into the growth of heresy ; to which request the King made no objection.

Oxford was at this time the seat of heresy. Wickliff was here still remembered with esteem and gratitude ; and his learning, eloquence, fortitude, and unwearied labours in the cause of truth and religious liberty, were yet the objects of admiration.

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unfettered, and set at liberty. This extraordinary behaviour of the Prince of Wales astonished the whole Court ; but the Lord Chief Justice desired the Prince not to attempt hindering his servant from being tried for the offence with which he was charged, according to the laws of the kingdom. The Prince, nevertheless, attempted to take away his servant by force ; in which being opposed by the Judge, who commanded him to leave the prisoner and depart, he rushed furiously up to the Bench, and, as is generally said, struck the Chief Justice, then sitting in the execution of his office. Hereupon the Judge, nothing intimidated, after some expostulations upon the outrage, indignity, and unwarrantable interruption to the proceedings in that place, directly committed him to the King's Bench prison, there to wait his father's pleasure. The Prince was so much struck with the justice of the Chief Justice's expostulation, and the dignity of his manner, that he submitted to his sentence with a

calmness as sudden and surprizing as the offence had been which drew it upon him. King Henry being informed of the affair, is said to have returned thanks to God, " That he had given him both a Judge who knew how to administer, and a son who could obey justice." This Judge, who so well supported the dignity of his office, was Sir WILLIAM GASCOIGNE. He was born about the year 1350, and was made Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench in 1401. How much he distinguished himself in that office, appears from the several abstracts of his opinions, arguments, distinctions, and decisions, which occur in our old books of law-reports. Besides the great weight of his decisions in the King's Bench, he was also engaged in regulating and reforming many other public affairs, pursuant to the resolutions and directions of Parliament ; and appears always to have been remarkable for his firmness and integrity. He died in the first year of Henry V.

His principles had been imbibed by great numbers of the younger students; and his opinions were frequently maintained publicly in the schools. The governing part of the University were, nevertheless, still firmly attached to the established religion.

Commissioners having been sent to the University, agreeable to the request of the Archbishop, and having made their enquiry, they returned with the particulars of it to the Primate; who laid them before the convocation. Long debates ensued thereupon; the result of which was, that the increase of heresy was particularly owing to the influence of Lord Cobham; who not only avowedly held heretical opinions himself, but encouraged scholars from Oxford, and other places, by bountiful stipends, to propagate those opinions in the country. It was therefore determined by the convocation, that a prosecution should be immediately commenced against him. A member of the convocation however, more cool and politic than the rest, observed, that as the Lord Cobham was not only a favourite, but even a domestic at Court, it would be improper to proceed further in the affair, till they had made application to the King. This advice being approved, the Archbishop, at the head of a large body of dignified Ecclesiastics, waited upon Henry; and with as much acrimony as decency would permit, laid before him the offence of the Lord Cobham; and in all *Humility and Charity* begged that his Majesty would *suffer them, for Christ's sake, to put him to death.*

To this *meek and humane* request of the Archbishop, the King replied, that he had ever been averse from shedding blood in the cause of religion; and that he thought such violence more destructive of truth than error. He therefore enjoined the convocation to postpone the affair a few days; in which time he would himself (he said) reason with the Lord Cobham, whose behaviour he by no means approved; and if this were ineffectual, he would then leave him to the censure of the Church; and with this answer the Archbishop appeared satisfied.

Henry afterwards, agreeable to his promise, sent for the Lord Cobham, and endeavoured, by all the arguments in his power, to set before him the high offence of separating from the Church, pathetically exhorting him to retract his errors. But Lord Cobham's religious principles were too deeply rooted in him to be shaken by the King's arguments; and his love of truth, and his conviction of the importance of religion, were too great for him to sacrifice them out of complaisance to his Sovereign. To the reasoning and exhortation of the King, he, therefore, made the following reply. "I ever was (said he) a dutiful subject to your Majesty, and I hope ever shall be. "Next to God, I profess obedience to my King. But as for the spiritual dominion of the Pope, I never could see on what foundation it is claimed, nor can I pay him any obedi-

"ence. As sure as God's word is true, to me it is fully evident, that he is the great Anti-Christ foretold in holy writ." This answer of Lord Cobham is said so exceedingly to have shocked the King, that he turned from him in visible displeasure, and withdrew from that time every mark of his favour from him. He now gave the Archbishop leave to proceed against Lord Cobham with the utmost extremity in the ecclesiastical courts; "according to the devilish decrees, (says Bale) which they call the laws of holy church."

The Archbishop, upon this, immediately cited the Lord Cobham to appear before him on a fixed day; but this high-spirited Nobleman expressed great contempt for the Archbishop's citation, and would not even suffer his summoner to enter his gate. The Archbishop, upon this, caused the citation to be fixed upon the doors of the cathedral of Rochester, which was only three miles from Cowling-Castle, the Lord Cobham's seat; but it was immediately torn from thence by unknown hands. On the 11th of September, which was the day appointed for his appearance, the Primate and his associates sat in consistory; and Lord Cobham not appearing, the Archbishop pronounced him contumacious; and accordingly excommunicated him without farther ceremony, and threatening dreadful anathema's, called in the civil power to assist him, agreeable to the late enacted law.

Lord Cobham now began to think himself in real danger; for aided as the Clergy now were by the civil power, he knew there would be scarce a possibility of warding off the intended blow. However, he had still hopes that the King's favour was not absolutely alienated from him; at least he thought it of importance to make the experiment. He put in writing, therefore, a confession of his faith; and with this in his hand he waited upon the King, and begged his Majesty to be the judge himself, whether he had deserved the rough treatment he received.

In this confession he first recited the Apostle's Creed; and then, by way of explanation, professed his belief in the Trinity, and acknowledged CHRIST as the only Head of the Church, which he divided into the Blessed in Heaven, those who are tormented in purgatory, (if, says he, there is foundation in scripture for any such place,) and the righteous on earth. Speaking of the different classes in the Christian Church, of the Priests he particularly says, that they should evermore be occupied in preaching and teaching the scriptures purely, and in giving wholesome counsels of good living to the laity. He further adds, that they should be more modest, gentle, and lowly in spirit, than any other people. He then professed to believe, that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was contained CHRIST's body and blood, under the similitude of bread and wine. Finally, says he, my faith is, that God will ask no more

more of a Christian in this life, than to obey the precepts of his blessed law. If any Prelate of the Church requireth more, or any other kind of obedience, he condemneth CHRIST, exalteth himself above God, and becometh plainly Anti-Christ. All these premises, says Lord Cobham, I believe particularly, and generally all that God hath left in his Holy Scripture that I should believe. "I therefore earnestly desire, (he adds, addressing himself to the King,) that you, my Sovereign and Liege Lord, would cause this confession of mine to be fairly examined by the most pious, wise, and learned men in the kingdom. And if it be found agreeable to truth, let it be allowed to be so, and me be considered as a true Christian. But if it be *proved* to be otherwise, let it be utterly condemned, and let me be taught a better belief from the word of God."

When Lord Cobham offered this confession to the King, he coldly ordered it to be given to the Archbishop; upon which he offered to bring an hundred Knights, who would bear testimony to the innocence of his life and opinions. The King being silent, he assumed an higher strain, and begged his Majesty would permit him, as was usual in less matters, to vindicate his innocence by the law of arms; but the King still continued silent. At this instant, a person entered the chamber, and in the King's presence cited Lord Cobham to appear before the Archbishop. This, from the circumstances of it, seems to have been a concerted affair; and Lord Cobham, startled at the suddenness of the thing, made his last effort. "Since (said he) I can have no other justice, I appeal to the Pope at Rome." The King, enraged at this, cried out with vehemence, "Thou shalt never prosecute thy appeal;" and Lord Cobham refusing to submit implicitly to the censure of the Church, was immediately hurried to the Tower by the King's order. It is very extraordinary, that Lord Cobham should have made this appeal to the Pope, whose supremacy he had ever denied. He was, probably, much agitated with passion, as he appears naturally to have been of a warm temper, at seeing himself so entirely deserted by the King; and might possibly intend to intimidate; that however little reason he had to expect impartial justice from the Pope, he yet thought he should have more justice even from him, than from the Archbishop and convocation; and he might also make the appeal, in hope that he should at least gain time by it.

On the 23d of September, the Primate, sitting in the Chapter-House of St. Paul's, assisted by the Bishops of London and Winchester, Lord Cobham was brought before him by the Lieutenant of the Tower. The Archbishop addressed him thus: "Sir, (said he) it was sufficiently proved in a late session of convocation, that you held many heretical opinions; upon which, agreeable to our forms, you were cited to appear before us; and, refusing, you have been for contumacy excommunicated."

municated. Had you made proper submissions, I was then ready to have absolved you, and am now." Lord Cobham, taking no notice of the offer of absolution, only said in answer, that if his Lordship would give him leave, he would just read his opinion on those articles about which he supposed he was called in question; that any farther examination on those points was needless, for he was entirely fixed, and should not be found to waver.

Leave being accordingly given, he read a paper, in which was contained his opinion on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, penance, images, and pilgrimages. As to the first point he held, that CHAIST's body was really contained under the form of bread. With regard to the second, he thought penance for sin, as a sign of contrition, was useful and proper. Images he thought only allowable to remind men of heavenly things; and that he who really paid divine worship to them, was an Idolater. As to the last point, he said that all men were pilgrims upon earth, towards happiness or misery; but he was persuaded, that if a man's life was immoral, his going on pilgrimage to every quarter of the world would not recommend him to the Divine Favour. But he declared himself confident, that the man who conscientiously conformed himself to the commandments of God, would by so doing insure his salvation, though he should never perform one pilgrimage either to Compostella, Rome, Canterbury, or any other place.

When he had read this paper, he delivered it to the Archbishop, who examined it, in conjunction with the other Bishops, and some of the Doctors; and then told him, that what was contained in it was in part good and orthodox; but that in other parts he was not sufficiently explicit. There were other points also, the Primate said, in which it was expected he should give his opinion. Lord Cobham refused to make any other answer; telling the Archbishop, he was fixed in his opinions. "You see me (added he) in your hands, and may do with me what you please."

This resolution, in which he persisted, disconcerted the Archbishop. However, after a consultation among themselves, the Primate told him, that on all these points Holy Church had determined; by which determination all Christians ought to abide. He added, that for the present he would dismiss him, but should expect a more explicit answer on the Monday following; and in particular to this question, "Whether there remained any material bread in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of consecration, or not?" And in the meantime, he told him, he would send him, as a direction to his faith, the determination of the Church upon those points, on which his opinion would be particularly required. The next day he sent the following curious paper to Lord Cobham in the Tower,

Tower, for his perusal ; which shews the grossness of some of the opinions of the Church at that time.

The Determination of the ARCHBISHOP and the CLERGY.

“ The faith and determination of the Holy Church, touching the blissful Sacrament of the Altar, is this, That after the sacramental words be once spoken by a Priest in his mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into CHRIST’s very body ; and the material wine, that was before wine, is turned into CHRIST’s very blood. And so there remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar, from thenceforth, no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken.---How believe you this article ?

“ Holy Church hath determined, that every Christian man living here bodily upon earth, ought to be shaven to a Priest, ordained by the Church, if he may come to him.---CHRIST ordained St. Peter the Apostle to be his Vicar here on earth, whose See is the Holy Church of Rome. And he granted that the same power which he gave unto Peter, should succeed to all Peter’s successors, which we now call Popes of Rome. By whose special power, in particular Churches, he ordained Archbishops, Bishops, Parsons, Curates, and other degrees ; whom Christian men ought to obey after the laws of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of Holy Church.---Holy Church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a Christian man to go on pilgrimage to holy places ; and there to worship holy relics, and images of Saints, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and all other Saints besides, approved by the Church of Rome.---How believe you these articles ?”

The Archbishop, attended by three Bishops, and four heads of religious houses, appeared in court on the day appointed. He had removed his judicial chair from the Chapter-House of St. Paul’s to a Dominican Convent, which then stood within Ludgate, in London. This place was crowded with a numerous throng of Friars and Monks, as well as Seculars. And amidst the contemptuous looks of these zealots, Lord Cobham, attended by Sir Robert Morley, Lieutenant of the Tower, walked up undaunted to the place of hearing. The Archbishop accosted him with an appearance of great mildness ; and having cursorily run over what had hitherto passed in the process, told him, he expected, at their last meeting, to have found him suing for absolution ; but that the door of reconciliation was still open, if reflection had yet brought him to himself. “ I have trespassed against you in nothing (said the high-spirited Nobleman) : I have no need of your absolution.” He then knelt

kneled down, and lifted up his hands to Heaven, breaking out into this pathetic exclamation, " I confess myself before thee, O eternal God, to have been a great, a grievous sinner. How often have irregular and ungoverned passions misled my youth ! How often have I been drawn into sin by the temptations of the world !—Here absolution is wanted.—O my God, I humbly ask thy mercy." He then rose up, with tears in his eyes, and strongly affected with what he had just uttered, he turned to the assembly, and stretching out his arm, cried out with a loud voice, " Lo, these are your guides, good people. For the most flagrant transgressions of God's moral law, was I never once called in question by them. I have testified my disapprobation of their arbitrary appointments and traditions ; and they treat me, as they have done others, with the most extreme severity. But let them remember the denunciations of CHRIST against the Pharisees ; *All shall be fulfilled.*"

The grandeur, dignity, and vehemence with which he spoke, threw the court into some disorder. The force of truth, and his energetic manner, might possibly make some impression on the callous hearts of a few even of the bigotted Ecclesiastics who surrounded him. The Primate attempted an awkward apology for his treatment of him, and then suddenly turning to him, asked, what he thought of the paper which had been sent to him the day before ? and particularly, what he thought of the first article, with regard to the Holy Sacrament ? " My faith with regard to the Holy Sacrament, (replied Lord Cobham) is, that CHRIST sitting with his disciples, the night before he suffered, took bread ; and blessing it, brake it, and gave it to them, saying, *Take, eat, this is my body, which was given for you : do this in remembrance of me.*—This is my faith, Sir, with regard to the Holy Sacrament. I am taught this faith by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul."

He was then asked by the Archbishop, " Whether, after the words of consecration, he believed there remained any *material* bread ?" " The Scriptures (said he) make no mention of the word *material*. I believe, as was expressed in the paper I gave in, that, after consecration, CHRIST's body remains in the *form* of bread." A loud murmur upon this arose in the assembly ; and the words *Heresy, Heresy*, were echoed on every side : particularly, one of the Bishops cried out with vehemence, " That it was a foul heresy to call it bread, after the sacramental words were once spoken." Lord Cobham, who stood near him, interrupting him, said, " St. Paul, the Apostle, was as wise a man as you are, and perhaps as good a Christian ; and yet he, after the words of consecration, plainly calls it bread. *The bread* (saith he) *that we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ ?*" St. Paul, he was answered, must be otherwise understood ; for it was surely heresy to say so.—Lord Cobham

Cobham asked, how that appeared ?----“ Why (said the other) it is against the determination of Holy Church,”----“ You know, Sir, (interrupted the Archbishop) we sent you the true faith on this point, clearly determined by the Church of Rome, our mother, and by the holy doctors,”----“ I know none holier (replied Lord Cobham) than CHRIST and his Apostles; and this determination is surely none of their’s. It is plainly against Scripture,”----“ Do you not then believe in the determination of the Church ?”----“ I do not: I believe the Scriptures, and all that is founded upon them; but in your idle determinations I have no belief. To be short with you, I cannot consider the Church of Rome as any part of the Christian Church. Its endeavour is to oppose the purity of the Gospel, and to set up, in its room, I know not what absurd constitutions of its own.”

A declaration of this kind must naturally be supposed to have thrown such an assembly as this was into confusion. It did so. Every one exclaimed against the audacious heretic; and, amongst others, Dr. Walden, the Prior of the Carmelites, lifted up his eyes to Heaven, and cried out, “ What desperate wretches are these scholars of Wickliff !”----“ Before God and man (replied Lord Cobham vehemently) I here profess, that before I knew Wickliff, I never abstained from sin; but after I was acquainted with that virtuous man, I saw my errors, and I hope reformed them.”----“ It were an hard thing (answered Dr. Walden) if in an age so liberally supplied with pious and learned men, I should not be able to amend my life, till I heard the Devil preach.”----“ Go on, go on, (replied Lord Cobham with some warmth,) follow the steps of your fathers, the old Pharisees. Ascribe, like them, every thing good to the Devil, that opposes your own iniquities. Pronounce them heretics, who rebuke your crimes; and if you cannot prove them such by Scripture, call in the fathers.--Am I too severe? Let your own actions speak. What warrant have you from Scripture for this very act you are now about? Where do you find it written in all God’s law, that you may thus sit in judgment upon the life of man?—Hold---Annas and Caiaphas may perhaps be quoted in your favour.” “ Ay, (said one of the Doctors,) and CHRIST too, for he judged Judas.” “ I never heard that he did, (replied Lord Cobham). He pronounced indeed a woe against him, as he doth still against you, who have followed Judas’s steps: for since his venom hath been shed into the Church, you have never followed CHRIST, but vilely betrayed his cause, and dishonoured his religion.” The Archbishop, upon this, desired him to explain what he meant by ~~venom~~. “ I mean by it (said he) the *wealth* of the Church; your temporal possessions and lordships. When the Church was first endowed, as an author of your own pathetically expresses it, an Angel in the air cried out, *Woe, woe, woe: this day is venom*

from the Church of GOD. Since that time, instead of laying down their lives for religion, as was common in the early ages, the Bishops of Rome have been engaged in a constant scene of pre-emption, or in curing, murdering, poisoning, or fighting with each other.—How striking a contrast is there between the character of CHRIST, and that of him who now pretends to be the head of his Church! CHRIST was full of meekness and mercy; but the Pope of pride and tyranny. CHRIST was destitute of all temporal possessions, and freely forgave the wrongs which he received; but the Pope abounds in wealth, and is cruel and vindictive." Then raising his voice, he cried out, "Thus saith CHRIST in his Gospel, *We unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, you shut up the kingdom of Heaven against men: ye neither enter in yourselves, neither will ye allow that others should enter therein.* You stop up the way to the Kingdom of Heaven, and you hinder GOD's true Ministers from setting the truth before the people: because you are apprehensive that by doing so, your own conduct would be reprov'd. But if the Prince of Peace ever is invited, if he defends your tyranny, he is sufficient to confound you." Lord Cobham then looked steadfastly upon the Archbishop, and after a short pause, said, "Both Daniel and Ezekiel have prophesied, that troublous times should come, and that they should come in a great measure fulfilled in the present state of the Church.—You have greatly troubled the people of God, and you have already dipped your hands in blood; and, if you do not repent, you will still further imbrue them. But there is a power against you: therefore look to it: your days are numbered;—for the Lord's sake your days shall be

very great;—with which Lord Cobham, at this occasion, and the readiness and pertinence of his answers, it is said, astonished his adversaries, that they were at a loss how to answer him. The Archbishop himself was silent, and a short time was at a stand. At last, one of the Doctors, whose name was Kempe, taking out of his bosom a copy of a letter which had been sent to the Tower, turned to Lord Cobham, and told him, that they wanted briefly to know his opinion concerning the points contained in that paper. Dr. Kempe desired a direct answer, whether, after the words of the Scriptures, there remained any material bread?—"I think not," answered Lord Cobham, "my belief is, that the body is contained under the form of bread." He again asked, whether he thought confession to a Priest of necessity? To which he replied, that he thought it necessary, but that he thought it by no means necessary to ask the opinion of a Priest, if a learned and pious man; but he thought it by no means necessary to ask the opinion of a Priest, if a learned and pious man. Being then questioned about the right to St. Peter's chair, he answered, "He that fol-
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loweth Peter the nighest in good living, is next him in succession. You talk (said he) of Peter, but I see none of you that imitate his lowly manners; nor indeed the manners of his successors, till the time of Sylvester." But what do you particularly affirm of the Pope? "That he and you together (answered Lord Cobham) make whole the great Anti-Christ. He is the head, you Bishops and Priests are the body, and the begging Friars are the tail, that covers the filthiness of you both with lies and sophistry." He was lastly asked, what he thought of the worship of images and holy relics? "I pay them (answered Lord Cobham) no manner of regard.—Is it not (said he) a wonderful thing, that these saints, so *disinterested* upon earth, should after death become suddenly so *covetous*? It would, indeed, be wonderful, did not the pleasurable lives of Priests sufficiently account for it. For, in short, by your confessions and idols, your pretended absolutions and pardons, you have drawn to yourselves the greatest part of the wealth in every country where Christianity is professed."

When he had thus answered the four articles, the Archbishop told him, that he had spoken many things which dishonoured the whole body of the Clergy, and which naturally tended to bring them into contempt with the common people. "We have already (said he) spent much time about you, and it appears all to be in vain. We must, therefore, come to some conclusion. Take your choice of this alternative; submit obediently to the ordinances of the Church, or endure the consequence."—"My faith is fixed (answered Lord Cobham aloud): do with me what you please." The Archbishop then stood up, took off his cap, and read aloud the censure of the Church (*). Lord Cobham answered, with great cheerfulness, "You may condemn my body: my soul, I am well assured, you cannot hurt." He then turned to the people, and stretching out his hands, said with a loud voice, "Good Christian people, for GOD's sake, be well aware of these men; they will otherwise beguile you, and lead you to destruction." When he had said this, he fell on his knees, and raising his hands and

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eyes,

- (*) It was in the following terms:
- In the name of GOD, Amen. We
 - Thomas, by the sufferance of God,
 - Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of all England,
 - and Legate from the apostolic seat
 - of Rome, willeth this to be known
 - to all men. In a certain cause of
 - heresy, and upon divers articles,
 - whereupon Sir John Oldcastle,
 - Knight, and Lord Cobham, after a
 - diligent inquisition made for the
 - same, was detected, accused, and
 - presented before us, in our last con-
 - vocation of all our province of
 - Canterbury, holden in the cathedral church of St. Paul at London.
 - At the lawful denouncement and
 - request of our universal Clergy in
 - the said convocation, we proceeded
 - against him according to the law
 - (God is witness) with all the favour
 - possible; and following CHRIST
 - in all that we might, who willeth
 - not the death of a sinner, but rather
 - that he be converted and live,
 - we took upon us to correct him,
 - and sought all other ways possible

to

shed into the Church of GOD. Since that time, instead of laying down their lives for religion, as was common in the early ages, the Bishops of Rome have been engaged in a constant scene of persecution, or in cursing, murdering, poisoning, or fighting with each other.—How striking a contrast is there between the character of CHRIST, and that of him who now pretends to be the head of his Church ! CHRIST was full of meekness and mercy ; but the Pope of pride and tyranny. CHRIST was destitute of all temporal possessions, and freely forgave the many injuries which he received ; but the Pope abounds in wealth, and is cruel and vindictive.” Then raising his voice, he cried out, “ Thus saith CHRIST in his Gospel, *We unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, you shut up the kingdom of Heaven against men : you neither enter in yourselves, neither will you suffer those to enter, who otherwise would. You stop up the way by your traditions : and you hinder GOD’s true Ministers from setting the truth before the people ; because you are apprehensive that by that means your own wickedness would be reprov’d.* But if the Priest be ever so wicked, if he defends your tyranny, he is suffered.”——Lord Cobham then looked steadfastly upon the Archbishop, and after a short pause, said, “ Both Daniel and CHRIST have prophesied, that *troublesome times should come, such as have not been from the foundation of the world.*——This prophecy seems in a great measure fulfilled in the present state of the Church.—You have greatly troubled the people of GOD : you have already dipped your hands in blood ; and, if I foresee aright, will still further imbrue them. But there is a threat on record against you : therefore look to it : your days shall be shortened ;——*for the Elect’s sake your days shall be shortened.*”

The very great spirit and resolution with which Lord Cobham behaved on this occasion, and the readiness and pertinence of his answers, it is said, so astonished his adversaries, that they had nothing to reply. The Archbishop himself was silent, and the whole court was at a stand. At last, one of the Doctors, whose name was Kempe, taking out of his bosom a copy of the paper which had been sent to the Tower, turned to Lord Cobham, and told him, that they wanted briefly to know his opinion concerning the points contained in that paper. Dr. Kempe then desired a direct answer, whether, after the words of consecration, there remained any material bread ?——“ I have told you, (answered Lord Cobham) my belief is, that CHRIST’s body is contained under the *form* of bread.” He was again asked, whether he thought confession to a Priest of absolute necessity ? To which he replied, that he thought it might be in many cases useful to ask the opinion of a Priest, if he were a learned and pious man ; but he thought it by no means necessary to salvation. Being then questioned about the Pope’s right to St. Peter’s chair, he answered, “ He that fol-
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and Legate from the apostolic seat
of Rome, willeth this to be known
to all men. In a certain cause of
heresy, and upon divers articles,
whereupon Sir John Oldcastle,
Knight, and Lord Cobham, after a
diligent inquisition made for the
same, was detected, accused, and
presented before us, in our last con-

vocation of all our province of
Canterbury, holden in the cathed-
ral church of St. Paul at London.
At the lawful denouncement and
request of our universal Clergy in
the said convocation, we proceeded
against him according to the law
(God is witness) with all the favour
possible; and following Christ
in all that we might, who willeth
not the death of a sinner, but ra-
ther that he be converted and live,
we took upon us to correct him,
and sought all other ways possible

eyes; prayed GOD to forgive his enemies; after which he was delivered to Sir Robert Morley, and sent back to the Tower.

These bigotted and blood-thirsty Ecclesiastics had thus far gained their point; but they were still in some kind of perplexity. They well knew that Lord Cobham was very popular, and that his opinions had many advocates. These proceedings of the Clergy must therefore have rendered them very odious to great numbers among the laity. For which reason they did not think it prudent at present to proceed to extremities, the consequences of which might possibly be dangerous. However,

to bring him again to the Church's unity; declaring unto him what the holy and universal Church of Rome hath said; holden, determined, and taught in that behalf; and though we found him from the Catholic faith far wide, and so stiff-necked, that he would not confess his errors, nor purge himself, nor yet repent him thereof, we yet, pitying him from *fatherly compassion*, and entirely desiring the health of his soul, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if he would repent, and seek to be reformed: and since we have found him worse and worse, considering therefore that he is incorrigible, we are driven to the very extremity of the law, and, with great heaviness of heart, we now proceed to the publication of the sentence definitive against him.

We take CHRIST unto witness, that we seek nothing else, in this our whole enterprize, but only his glory. Forasmuch as we have found, by divers acts done, produced, and exhibited by indications, presumptions, and proofs, and many other kinds of evidence, that the said Sir John Oldcastle, Knight, and Lord Cobham, is not only an evident heretic in his own person, but also a mighty maintainer of other heretics, against the faith and religion of the holy and universal Church of Rome; namely, about the two Sacraments of the Altar, and of penance, besides the Pope's power, and pilgrimages; and that he, as the *child of inquiry and darkness*, hath so hardened his heart, that he will in no case attend unto the voice of his pastor; neither will he be allured by straight admonitions, nor yet be brought in by favourable words. The worthiness of the cause first weighed on the one side, & his unworthiness again considered on the other side; his faults also aggravated, or made double, through his *damnable obstinacy*; we being loth that he which is nought should become worse, and so with his contagiousness infect the multitude; by the counsel and assent of the very discreet fathers, our honourable brethren, and Lords, Bishops here present, Richard of London, Henry of Winchester, and Bennet of Bangor, and of other great, learned, and wise men here, both doctors of divinity, and of the laws canon and civil, seculars and religious, with divers other expert men assisting us, we sentimentally and definitively, by this present writing, judge, declare, and condemn the said Sir John Oldcastle, Knight, and Lord Cobham, for a most pernicious and detestable heretic, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the Church, again committing him here from henceforth, as a condemned heretic, to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgment, to do him thereupon to death. Furthermore, we excommunicate, and denounce accursed, not only this heretic here present, but so many else besides, as shall hereafter, in favour of his error, either receive him or defend him, counsel him or help him, or any other way maintain him, as very factors, receivers, defenders, counsellors, aiders, and maintainers of condemned heretics."—The Clergy were ordered to read Lord Cobham's sentence of excommunication in every church in the kingdom.

ever, in order to facilitate their designs, they endeavoured to lessen his credit among the people, by spreading abroad scandalous aspersions against him by their emissaries, and even publishing a recantation in his name. Lord Cobham, in his own defence, caused a paper to be posted up in some of the most public places in London, in which he desired it might be known to all the world, that he had never varied in any point from that confession of faith which he had before delivered.

Lord Cobham remained six months in the Tower, without the Archbishop and his Clergy having come to any resolution; and he then saved them the trouble of any further deliberations about him, by escaping out of the Tower by unknown means. He took the advantage of a dark night, evaded pursuit, and arrived safe in Wales; where some of the Chiefs of that country favoured the Noble fugitive, and screened him from the malice of his enemies. The Clergy, thoroughly mortified at this event, took great pains to persuade the King to issue a proclamation for apprehending him; but the King, who probably thought that enough had been done already, paid little attention to their solicitations. This was an additional mortification; however, they endeavoured to interest the King on their behalf, by incensing him against the Lollards, whom they represented as ill-affected to the government. Henry listened to their insinuations, and began to consider the Lollards among the number of his own enemies.

About this time the Bishops had obtained a proclamation, forbidding the Lollards to assemble in companies, which they had been used to do on the account of devotion. This proclamation had its effect only in part; for they still continued to assemble, though in less companies, and with more privacy, and often in the dead of night. As on this occasion they generally chose some unfrequented place, a number of them sometimes assembled in St. Giles's fields, which was then covered with bushes. Here a number of them had met one evening, and intended, as usual, to continue their meeting to a very late hour. Some emissaries of the Clergy, who had mingled with them under the disguise of friends, gave intelligence of their design; and as the King, who was then at Eltham, about seven miles from London, whither he was retired to keep his Christmas, was sitting down to supper, advice was brought him that the Lord Cobham, at the head of twenty thousand men, had posted themselves in St. Giles's fields, breathing revenge, and threatening to murder the King, the Princes of the blood, and all the Nobility and Prelates who should oppose them. "Nothing (says Rapin) was more improbable, than that twenty thousand men should assemble at the very gates of London, without being observed; and it was still more unlikely that Oldcastle, a very experienced warrior, should choose St. Giles's fields, overgrown as they were with bushes and shrubs, for the rendezvous of

of his forces. Nevertheless, the news was confirmed by so many circumstances, that the King could not but credit the report." Accordingly, Henry immediately armed what men he could readily muster, and put himself at their head, in hopes to surprize the enemy before they should have concerted their schemes. Soon after midnight he arrived at the place, and finding there about eighty or an hundred persons, killed about twenty of them on the spot, and took about sixty of them prisoners, among whom was Sir Roger Aston, and Sir John Beverley, a preacher. The King, who supposed that what he had already met with, was only the advanced guard of the enemy, marched on in expectation of meeting with the main body; but no main body was ever found, and this formidable army was dispersed with as much ease as it had been raised.

Notwithstanding the manifest improbability of this conspiracy, it was, at least for a time, entirely credited by the King, and therefore fully answered the designs of the Clergy; as it thoroughly incensed Henry against the Lollards, and gave a severe check to the whole party. The historian we have just quoted, speaking of this transaction, further says, "It is hardly to be conceived, that a Prince so wise as Henry, could suffer himself to be imposed upon by so gross a fiction. Had he found, indeed, as he was made to believe, twenty thousand men in arms, in St. Giles's fields, it might have created suspicion; but that fourscore, or an hundred men, among whom there was not a single person of rank, should have formed such a project, is extremely improbable. Besides, he himself knew Sir John Oldcastle to be a man of sense; and yet nothing could be more wild than the project fathered upon him; a project, which it was supposed he was to execute with an handful of men, and yet he himself absent, and no leader in his room. Besides, notwithstanding the strictest search made through the kingdom, to discover the accomplices of this pretended conspiracy, not a single person could be found, besides those taken at St. Giles's." As for Lord Cobham himself, Henry was so persuaded of his guilt, that through his influence a bill of attainder against him passed the Commons; and not content with this, the King set a price of a thousand marks upon his head, and promised a perpetual exemption from taxes to any town that should secure him: this transaction happened in the year 1414.

A few months afterwards, a Parliament was called at Leicester, whither the zeal of the Clergy followed the King; and in pursuance of their old scheme of rendering the Lollards suspected as enemies to the State, they procured an act to be passed, by which heresy incurred the forfeitures of treason; and which likewise contained a clause, manifestly levelled at the Lord Cobham, which made those liable to the same penalties who had broken prison, unless they surrendered themselves again.

In the mean time, the noble Cobham still continued an exile in Wales, though frequently obliged to shift the place of his retreat ; and in that mountainous country he was four years sheltered from the malice of his enemies. They, however, made use of all the means in their power to find him out ; and, after many fruitless attempts, at length engaged the Lord Powis in their interest, who was very powerful in those parts, and in whose hands it was imagined Lord Cobham was concealed, Powis, taking proper measures to work upon his tenants, had numbers upon the watch, and with a degree of vigilance that Lord Cobham could not escape. Whilst, therefore, he imagined himself secure from his enemies, he was suddenly taken, carried to London in triumph, and put into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The absence and sufferings of Lord Cobham, had in no degree softened the malice of his enemies : on the contrary, the Clergy, who had formerly been under some restraint, having gained great additional power, by the late enacted law, and the great influence which they now had in Parliament, and in the State, were disposed to let loose all their fury against him. Things being circumstanced in this manner, Lord Cobham might easily foresee his fate ; which, indeed, did not long remain in suspense. He received sentence of death, both as an heretic, and a traitor. And on the day appointed for his execution, he was brought out of the Tower with his arms bound behind him, and having a very chearful countenance. He was then placed upon a hurdle, and drawn upon it into St. Giles's fields, where they had set up a new gallows. When he was arrived at the place of execution, and was taken from the hurdle, he devoutly fell down upon his knees, and prayed to God to forgive his enemies. He then stood up, and addressing the multitude, exhorted them to continue in the steadfast observance of the laws of God, as delivered in the Scriptures. Having added to this, some other exhortations to the people, he submitted himself to his fate, with the intrepidity of an hero, and the resignation of a Christian. He was hung up alive by the middle with iron chains, on the gallows which was erected ; under which a fire being made, he was burnt to death.-----The rage of superstition was carried to such an height, that the Monks and Priests who attended, did not refrain from curses and execrations, even whilst the noble victim was in the flames ; and they also endeavoured to prevent the people who surrounded from praying for him.-----Such was the end of the illustrious Cobham ! and such the treatment which he received, by the contrivances, and at the instigation, of a set of men, who pretended to be Ministers of the Gospel of Peace !

“ Lord Cobham (says Mr. Gilpin) had been much conversant in the world ; and had probably been engaged, in the early part of his life, in the licence of it. His religion, however,

ever, put a thorough restraint upon a disposition, naturally inclined to the allurements of pleasure. He was a man of a very high spirit, and warm temper; neither of which his sufferings could subdue. With very little temporizing, he might have escaped the indignities he received from the Clergy who always considered him as an object beyond them; but the greatness of his soul could not brook concession. In all his examinations, and through the whole of his behaviour, we see an authority and dignity in his manner, which speak him the great man in all his afflictions.—He was a person of uncommon parts, and very extensive talents; well qualified either for the cabinet or the field. In conversation he was remarkable for his ready and poignant wit.—His acquirements were equal to his parts. No species of learning, which was at that time in esteem, had escaped his attention. It was his thirst of knowledge, indeed, which first brought him acquainted with the opinions of Wickliff. The novelty of them engaged his curiosity. He examined them as a Philosopher, and in the course of his examination became a Christian.” The influence and character of Lord Cobham, must have had a considerable effect in advancing the progress of the opinions which he espoused; by shewing the world, that religion was not calculated only for a cloister, but that it would do honour to the highest stations of human life; and that no temporal honours or grandeurs were too great to be hazarded in its defence.

The treatment which Lord Cobham received from the bigotted Clergy of this period, is a striking instance, among many others, in the bloody annals of the Catholic Church, of the intolerant spirit of the Romish religion. Uncharitableness, bigotry, and a spirit of persecution, have, indeed, ever been the characteristics of Popery. The Romish Clergy, when divested of power, can with great ease assume appearances of charity and moderation: but appearances of this sort deserve no regard. For it is apparent, from the stubborn evidence of innumerable facts, that whenever the Catholic Church hath been in possession of a sufficient degree of power, its charity and moderation have ever been overbalanced by a flaming zeal for the defence of its own inventions, corruptions, and superstitions, and for the extirpation of what they call heresy; and that to advance its own ends, it hath seldom scrupled to employ the axe and the wheel, the gibbet and the stake.



The Life of HENRY CHICHELY, Archbishop of Canterbury.

HENRY CHICHELY was born, of an obscure family, at Higham Ferrers, in Northamptonshire. We are not informed of the exact time of his birth. He was instructed in grammar learning at the school at Winchester, founded by William of Wykeham, and became afterwards fellow of New College in Oxford, founded also by the same Prelate, where he took the degree of doctor in the civil and canon law. He was then appointed chaplain to Robert Medford, Bishop of Salisbury; who, about the year 1402, preferred him to the Archdeaconry of Salisbury. But one Walter Fitzpares, a priest, commenced a suit against him for this dignity, claiming it by virtue of a grant from King Henry IV. under the great seal. But the cause being brought by appeal before Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archdeaconry was adjudged to Henry Chichely. Two years after, he exchanged his Archdeaconry for the Chancellorship of the same diocese. He made this exchange with Walter Medford, the Bishop of Salisbury's brother, who enjoyed that dignity; which was allowed to be lawful by the constitutions of the canon law: and having both quitted their several dignities, Chichely was made Chancellor, and Medford Archdeacon. There was annexed to the Chancellorship the Parsonage of Odyham, in the diocese of Winchester, which was then vacant, and was given him by the Bishop; and he was immediately put in possession of it by the *Custos Rotulorum* of the See of Winchester, which was then vacant by the death of William of Wykeham. Both these preferments were given him by Bishop Medford, who always had a high esteem for him; and when he died, which was about three years after, left him by will a golden cup with a cover, and appointed him the chief of his executors.

In 1407, King Henry IV. sent Chichely as his Ambassador, to congratulate Gregory XII. on his advancement to the Papacy. And the Bishopric of St. David's becoming vacant whilst he was at Rome, he was promoted to that See by the Pope, who consecrated him with his own hands at Sienne. He returned into England in April, 1408, and in the August following made profession of canonical obedience in the cathedral church of Canterbury.

In the beginning of the year 1409, he was deputed by the Synod of London, with Robert Hallum, Bishop of Salisbury,

and the Prior of Canterbury, to the general Council held at Pisa. The principal design of this Council, was to put an end to the schism which had arisen in the Church in the year 1378, and which still continued. Of the rise of this schism, we have had occasion to speak in the life of Wickliff. There were at this time two Popes, Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. Gregory resided at Rome, and Benedict at Avignon. This council which was held at Pisa, to restore peace to the Church, consisted of twenty-two Cardinals, four Patriarchs, twelve Archbishops present, besides fourteen represented by proxy; fourscore Bishops, besides proxies; fourscore and seven Abbots, with Ambassadors from all the crowned heads, or other Princes in Europe. This pompous assembly, after some tedious preliminary discussions, at last found both the Popes to be notorious and incorrigible schismatics and heretics, and guilty of perjury; they therefore denounced them deprived of all their titles and authorities, and the Apostolical See to be vacant; and all the censures and promotions of those pretended Popes void, and of none effect. All the powers in Europe had copies of this resolution sent them; and, immediately upon this, the Cardinals proceeded to the election of a new Pope, who styled himself Alexander the Vth. He immediately took his seat as President of the council, and as Pope confirmed all their former decrees. But as the late Popes, Benedictus and Gregory, did neither of them chuse to relinquish their dignity, they did not submit to the decision of the Council, but still continued to retain their titles; and Benedict was still acknowledged as Pope in Spain: so that the Church had in fact, at this time, three heads. What an unfortunate circumstance it was, that there should have been no sure Criterion, by which good Catholics might have distinguished with certainty, which of these was the true successor of St. Peter!

After the breaking up of the Council of Pisa, Bishop Chichely returned to England, and was present in two synods holden at London in 1410 and 1411. In 1413, he was sent by King Henry V. Ambassador, together with Richard, Earl of Warwick, first to the King of France, and then to the Duke of Burgundy, for concluding a truce between England and France. But there is reason to believe, that the real design of this Embassy was only to amuse the Court of France, and that Henry had before this, entertained hostile intentions against that kingdom. However, Bishop Chichely returned again into England; but it is said, that he was sent again the same year, with the Earl of Warwick, to demand the Duke of Burgundy's daughter in marriage for King Henry.

In 1414, Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, died; and upon the death of this Primate, the Prior of Canterbury, and the Monks of that Church, desired the King's leave for electing a new Archbishop. The King's leave being accordingly

ingly obtained under the great seal, the Monks assembled in the Chapter-House, and proceeded to the choice of an Archbishop; and the election unanimously falling upon Chichely, it was declared by John Langdon, one of the Monks, in the name of the rest, to the people, who were assembled in the church in great numbers. The same day two of the Monks were appointed proxies for the rest, who accordingly waited upon the Bishop at London, and acquainted him with the humble request of the Prior and Monks, that he would take upon him the government of the church of Canterbury. Chichely desired a day's time to consider of it; and the next day, when they came to him again in the Bishop of Norwich's house, in the presence of Edward, Duke of York, and several of the Nobility, the crafty Prelate expressly told them, that he could not gratify their request without the Pope's consent, to whose arbitration he referred their petition. Whereupon the Prior and the Monks by their proxies, sent to Pope John XXII. (Alexander V. being now dead) humbly requesting of him, that he would confirm their election of the Bishop of St. David's to the See of Canterbury. King Henry also signified to his Holiness, that he had granted leave to the chapter of Canterbury to elect an Archbishop. This Pope, who was then at Bologna, being desirous of retaining the right of nominating to benefices, by way of papal provision, signified to the Monks of Canterbury by letter, that he had reserved to himself the collation to the See of Canterbury, before the death of Thomas Arundel, and that he annulled whatever they, or any other persons, might have done in prejudice of his provision. However, he collated, by his bull of provision, the same Henry Chichely, whom they had elected, to the Archiepiscopal See. It is, indeed, alledged by some writers, and with great appearance of probability, that the politic Chichely had privately taken proper measures to secure the friendship of the Pope.

Chichely's election being thus confirmed, the King delivered to him the temporalities on the 30th of May; and, on the 29th of June following, the pall was delivered to him by the Bishops of Winchester and Norwich, delegated by the Pope for that purpose, with great solemnity, in the presence of the King and many of the Nobility, at the King's Palace of Sutton, at which time he took an oath of obedience and fidelity to the Pope (p).

Y 2

Shortly

(p) This oath was in the following terms. "I Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury, will be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, to the holy Apostolical Church of Rome, and to my Lord John the twenty-third, and his successors that shall be canonically elected. I will not consent to, nor engage in any design against their

life, limbs, or liberty. The secrets that they shall entrust me with, either by themselves, by their legates, or by letters, I will not reveal to any one to their prejudice. I will assist them in maintaining and defending the PAPACY, and the rights of St. Peter, against all persons whatsoever, as far as is consistent with the privileges of my

Shortly after Chichely was thus raised to the highest dignity in the Church, a Parliament was summoned to meet at Leicester. The Commons had not yet laid aside their design of humbling the Clergy, though some of their attempts had hitherto miscarried. The proposals they had made for seizing the ecclesiastical revenues, had been represented to the King as the effects of impious heresy, which had crept in among the Members, some of which were professed Lollards. But this Parliament changed their battery, and endeavoured to clear themselves from that charge. The Clergy having brought in a very severe bill against the Lollards, by which, among other things, it was to be enacted, that heresy should incur the penalties of treason, expected to meet with a violent opposition to this bill in the Parliament. But their surprize was exceeding great, when they found their bill pass with little obstruction. Their pulpits rang with the praises of the Parliament; and they congratulated each other upon the glorious prospect of the Church, when every branch of the legislature united in their endeavours to extirpate heresy. But the Clergy were much deceived in their opinion of the Commons, who acted in this affair with great address. They wanted to free themselves from the bondage of an oppressive hierarchy, but saw no way of escaping it, but by wringing from the Church that wealth, which was the source of its power. To enable them to execute this design the better, they thought the best step they could take would be to clear themselves from the imputation of heresy, and with this view they passed the bill against the Lollards.

This design of the Commons did not long remain a mystery. In the midst of the praises bestowed upon them by the Clergy, who extolled them as the wisest and most respectable body of men that ever met together, for having passed the bill against heretics, they almost unanimously presented a petition to the King,

my own station. I will honourably attend the Legate of the Apostolic See, both at his coming and return, and will supply his necessities. When I am called to a council, I will come, unless hindered by some lawful impediment. I will visit the Apostolical Palace every three years, either in my own person, or by my deputy, unless excused by leave from the Pope. The possessions belonging to my Archiepiscopal See I will not sell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant any new infeoffments of them, nor any other way alienate them without the consent of the Pope. So help me GOD, and his Holy Gospel." It is observable, that in this oath there is not a syllable about his duty

as a Christian Bishop, unless being obedient to St. Peter should be construed as having any such meaning. But the great point in view, was the maintenance of the rights and revenues of the Church. It may be observed, that this tie of canonical obedience to the Pope, was even then thought to bear hard upon the duty of a subject, and to contain several clauses not reconcileable to the oath of allegiance; the Archbishop, therefore, when he did homage to the King, was obliged to renounce all clauses in the Pope's bull of translocation, or any other engagements to that See, which were prejudicial to the Royal Prerogative.

King, requesting him to seize into his hands the revenues of the Clergy, which they represented as so exorbitant, as to be an intolerable burthen to the nation. This was an unexpected stroke to the Ecclesiastics. They were instantly alarmed; and they saw the necessity of their doing something without delay; for the King had discovered no marks of displeasure at the petition of the Commons.

The late Archbishop, Arundel, had been distinguished for his zeal for the Church, and his vigorous opposition to heresy. The new Primate, Chichely, was also a vigorous opposer of the Wickliffites, and a steady assertor of the rights of the Church. He had all the zeal of his predecessor to which were added greater abilities and address. Every good Catholic, therefore, was pleased, that at so critical a juncture, so able a man as Chichely should be Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop immediately called a synod at London upon this important affair, and represented to his reverend brethren, that it would be prudent, as matters stood, to give up a part of their wealth, in order to secure the remainder. To this proposal the Clergy assented: the Archbishop, therefore, authorized by the Body of the Clergy, went to the King, and with all humility represented to him, that he hoped his Majesty did not mean so rash a thing, as to put it out of the power of his old friends to serve him as they had always been ready to do: the Clergy were his sure refuge upon all occasions; and as a proof of their zeal, they begged his Majesty would accept at their hands, a surrender of all the alien monasteries; which being not fewer than an hundred and ten, would very considerably augment his revenues. Henry paused; and considering that the offer they made was a very considerable one, and being unwilling to irritate the Clergy, accepted their proposal; and the monasteries were appropriated to the King's use by Act of Parliament. Thus the Clergy had once more the pleasure to see their arts counterbalance the designs of their enemies.

Archbishop Chichely and the Clergy did not, however, think the Church sufficiently secure. They thought the most likely way to prevent any further attacks upon it, would be to remind the King of his title to the Crown of France, and by that means embark him in a foreign war. This scheme they judged the more practicable, because they observed, from the times, a general inclination to a French war, and Henry himself seemed not indisposed to it. The starting a new enterprize, opening the prospect to another Crown, and engaging him in foreign schemes, would, it was judged, naturally divert him from schemes at home; and a continental war induce him to leave all quiet in his own dominions. In prosecution, therefore of this scheme, Archbishop Chichely addressed the King in full Parliament, exhorting him, in the following speech, to engage in a
war

war with France, for the recovery of the Crown of that kingdom.

“ We know, great Sir, (said the Archbishop) with what
 “ Royal wisdom and care you have established the peace and
 “ prosperity of your people, and we all enjoy the blessings of
 “ your excellent government : but, while your designs and ac-
 “ tions have been directed to our common good, we have not
 “ done any thing for the increase of your Empire ; and among
 “ all the debates in this honourable assembly, to make laws for
 “ the security of the subjects liberties and privileges, we have
 “ neglected to consider how we may advance the greatness of
 “ our King, and, in him, that of our country too. Now, since
 “ I owe all my fortune to your favour, gratitude, as well as the
 “ duty of a subject, obliges me to propound what I think may
 “ promote the honour of so gracious a Sovereign, and enlarge
 “ his power. You administer justice to your people with a no-
 “ ble equity ; you are illustrious in the arts of a peaceful go-
 “ vernment ; but the glory of a great King consists not so
 “ much in a reign of serenity and plenty, in great treasures, in
 “ magnificent palaces, in populous and fair cities, as in the en-
 “ largement of his dominions ; especially when the assertion of
 “ his rights calls him out to war, and justice, not ambition,
 “ authorizes all his conquests. Your Majesty ought to wear
 “ the Crown of France, by a right descending to you by Ed-
 “ ward III. your illustrious predecessor. That valiant King
 “ openly challenged his right by Ambassadors, and, when the
 “ French endeavoured to elude it, by a pretended Salique law,
 “ he bravely attempted to conquer by arms, what he could not
 “ obtain by a just treaty. You have the same title to demand
 “ that Crown, and the same reasons to make war upon a re-
 “ fusal. I doubt not but they will oppose their imaginary
 “ Salique law, in like manner, against your claim ; but I know
 “ very well, that as they contradict themselves in assigning the
 “ original of this law, so if it were granted that there is such a
 “ one, yet France is not concerned in it. It is in vain to tell
 “ us, that it was made by Pharamond, the founder of their
 “ Monarchy ; as if he could be the founder of a law, which
 “ had no name nor being, till above four hundred years after
 “ his death ! for then it was that Charles the Great, returning
 “ from the conquest of Saxony, part of his army passed the
 “ Sala, and seated themselves between that river and the Elbe,
 “ and, from the name of the former, were called Salique Gauls.
 “ This new Colony, detesting the vicious manners of the Ger-
 “ man women, made a law, That none of that sex should in-
 “ herit lands within the bounds of their little government.
 “ But what is all this to France ? How will the French per-
 “ suade us, that, by virtue of this law, the Crown of that
 “ kingdom must not descend to any daughter of their Kings, if
 “ they do not first prove their country to be situated between
 “ these

“ these two German rivers ? But though all were true which
“ they report of this boasted law, yet why should they use it
“ as an argument against the rights of our King, when they
“ never made it any bar in the succession of their own. Pepin,
“ who by deposing Childeric III. mounted the Throne, was ac-
“ knowledged the next heir, as descended from the Princess
“ Blithilda, daughter of Clothair I. And Hugh Capet, who
“ usurped the Crown from Charles, Duke of Lorrain, the next
“ male heir, to give himself the title, or the colour of a title,
“ asserted that he sprung from the Princess Lingarda, the
“ daughter of Charlemagn. Thus Lewis IX. too, whom they
“ honour as a Saint, neglecting the precarious title of Hugh
“ Capet, his grandfather, could sufficiently satisfy his consci-
“ ence and the nation, by deriving his right from Queen Isa-
“ bella, his grandmother, as descended from the Princess Emen-
“ garde, daughter and heir of Charles, Duke of Lorrain,
“ whom Hugh Capet had deprived of his kingdom and life.
“ But were it certain that this Salique law had, from the begin-
“ ning of the Monarchy, been established, and inviolably ob-
“ served in France ; yet what obligation can a law have, which
“ is contrary to the commands of God, and the commands of
“ all other nations, and so offends against all the rules of jus-
“ tice and reason ? God declared, that, if a man died without
“ sons, the inheritance should descend to the daughters ; and
“ there never was a law among any people in the world, which
“ excluded the daughters from the rights of children. The
“ French alone violate the statutes of Heaven, and slight all
“ the laws that are in force on earth, that they may devolve the
“ right of their Crown on whom they please. But it is your
“ undoubted right, my Sovereign, and all the powers of France
“ will be too weak to oppose your possession, if you do but re-
“ solve to vindicate your right. Consider, therefore, the just
“ title which you have to this Crown, devolved on you by
“ Queen Isabella, your great-grandmother, sister and heir to
“ three successive Kings of France, who died without children,
“ and take up noble arms to assert so just a cause. Advance
“ your standard into France, and, with assured hopes of vic-
“ tory, march to conquer those dominions which are your own
“ by inheritance. There is no true Englishman but is ready to
“ devote his life and fortune, to so glorious a service of his
“ King. And, in full persuasion of the justice of the war, we
“ the Clergy have given such a sum of money, to maintain it,
“ as was never granted to any of your predecessors, and will
“ join all our prayers for the success of your arms.”

We do not greatly admire the reasoning in some parts of this
artful harangue, nor the design with which it was pronounced ;
we have, however, laid it before our readers, though a long one,
because it has been much celebrated by our historians ; and by
some of them the conquest of France hath been attributed to it.

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This speech of the Archbishop's met with little opposition, only the Earl of Westmoreland alledged, that it might be necessary, before any expedition was undertaken against France, to disabie the Scots from making any inroads, or creating any commotions in England. But the Duke of Exeter, the King's uncle, was very desirous of attacking the kingdom of France, and to which the whole assembly assented. Accordingly the King received a very considerable subsidy from the laity, and a still more liberal one from the Clergy.

The situation of affairs in France, at this time, was favourable to the designs of England. For Charles VI. then upon the Throne, was subject to frequent fits of frenzy, and often rendered thereby incapable of exercising his regal authority; and the whole kingdom of France was divided into two factions; the Duke of Burgundy being at the head of the one, and the Duke of Orleans of the other. The Court of France, alarmed at the resolutions of the Parliament of Leicester, and the preparations which Henry had begun to make for the prosecution of the war, sent over a splendid Embassy, with very advantageous proposals. However, these proposals were not accepted, though the King of England still continued to amuse the French Court with hopes of an accommodation, till he had completed his preparations; when he set sail for France from the port of Southampton, having first quashed a dangerous conspiracy formed by the Earl of Cambridge, Lord Scrope, and Sir Thomas Grey, in favour of the Earl of Marche's right to the Crown. Henry's fleet consisted of sixteen hundred sail; and he had a numerous army, which he landed in Normandy without opposition; but having lost one half of it in the siege of Harfleur, and by the bloody flux, it was resolved to leave a garrison at Harfleur, and march the remainder of the army to Calais. Henry was so sensible of the dangerous situation he was in, that he even offered peace to the French on very reasonable terms; which they rejected, thinking they could make the King and his whole army prisoners. Upon which the battle of Agincourt ensued; in which, contrary to all expectation, the French were totally defeated (9). There fell in this battle, of the French, seven Princes of the blood, and five were made prisoners,

(9) The accounts which are given by different historians of the numbers of the French army in this battle, are very various. By some historians, the French army is said to have consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand men, others say one hundred and twenty thousand, others one hundred thousand, and a late historian has rated it at only fifty-four thousand. It is, however, certain, from all the circumstances of

this battle, that the superiority in point of numbers of the French army was very great. So daring a Prince as Henry would never have offered the terms he did to the enemy, before the battle of Agincourt, if the French army had not so greatly outnumbered him, as to leave him scarce the most distant hope of victory. There seems to be no reason for implicitly adopting the accounts of the French historians, in affairs of this kind,

prisoners, the flower of the Nobility of France, about ten thousand men, the greater part of which are said to have been gentlemen, about fourteen thousand being taken prisoners. The loss of the English is computed by some writers at sixteen hundred, by some at only four hundred, and by others at a much more inconsiderable number. After this very signal victory, King Henry proceeded on his march to Calais; and soon after came over into England, with the chief of his prisoners.

But to return to Archbishop Chichely. On the 28th of November, 1415, he held a provincial synod at London, and another on the 1st of April, 1416 (r); after the breaking up of

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which,

kind, in preference to our own. For though it should be admitted, that English historians may be under some temptation to heighten the splendor of English victories; it must at the same time be allowed, that the French historians have equal temptation to lessen them. Indeed, some late writers of the English history seem to have been somewhat disposed to the latter. "The successes (says the ingenious Mr. Hume) which the arms of England have, in different ages, obtained over those of France, have been much owing to the favourable situation of the former kingdom. The English, happily seated in an island, could make advantage of every misfortune which attended their neighbours, and were little exposed to the danger of retaliation. They never left their own country, but when conducted by a King of extraordinary genius, or found their enemy divided by intestine factions, or were supported by a powerful alliance on the continent."—To have supposed, that the successes of the English could in any considerable degree have been imputed to their superior valour, would have been, perhaps, a vulgar prejudice. We must, however, observe, that it is difficult for an Englishman to avoid feeling some disgust, at seeing the most heroic exploits of his brave ancestors represented in a much less honourable light than he thinks they deserve to be; and especially when that appears to be done without just grounds, and by writers whose merit, in other respects, will probably make them very long, and very generally read. And it would, perhaps, be found, upon an accurate

examination into some modern histories of England, though written by men of real genius and ability, that an affectation of singularity in them, has been the source of as much misrepresentation, as too much credulity in more ancient writers.

(r) This year the Emperor Sigismund, who had offered himself as a mediator between France and England, and who had lately been in France, in order to accommodate the differences between the two nations, arrived in England, attended with a very grand retinue, consisting of no less than a thousand horse, among whom were the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Milan, the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Palatine, and many of the German and Italian Nobility. While the Emperor was in France, he had been admitted to be present at the session of the Parliament of Paris; in which, from a notion, perhaps, that Emperors enjoy a power paramount to that of Kings, he had exercised an act of sovereign judgment. This having come to the ears of Henry and his Nobility, they resolved to inform his Imperial Majesty, that the King and people of England knew no superior but God. The Duke of Gloucester, and other English Noblemen, were ordered, by Henry, to receive the Emperor at his landing. He was brought over in a magnificent fleet of English ships, and, approaching near the shore, he found the Duke and his retinue first drawn up upon the Strand, and then advancing into the water with their drawn swords towards the boat where he was, and which they stopped. This extraordinary

which, the Archbishop went over into France to the King, who had gone over thither in order to have an interview with the Duke of Burgundy at Calais, who made a private treaty with Henry, in which he acknowledged him for the lawful King of France. Archbishop Chichely came back soon after with the King from Calais, and, by the King's command, held a third synod at London, on the 9th of November, 1416. In this synod, at the request of Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, the Earl-Marshal, and Henry Ware, keeper of the Privy Seal, who for that purpose were sent thither by the King, the Archbishop prevailed with the Clergy to grant the King two tenths for his expedition into France. Nothing else was done in this synod, but the appointing the days of John Beverley, and of Crispin and Crispianus, on which the battle of Agincourt was fought, to be holy days.

The first attempt the French made after their defeat at Agincourt, was the siege of Harfleur, both by land and sea. But the English fleet, consisting of four hundred sail, under the Duke of Bedford, entirely defeated the French fleet, taking or sinking five hundred sail. Soon after which the French broke up the siege of Harfleur; upon which the garrison of Harfleur made excursions throughout all Normandy.

About this time, Archbishop Chichely exercised the power of ecclesiastical censures, in a remarkable manner, against the Lord and Lady Strange. The affair was this: On Easter-Day, the Lord Strange, with the Lady Elizabeth his wife, and a great train of servants attending them, came to St. Dunstan's church to Vespers; and meeting Sir John Trussell there, who had long been at variance with Lord Strange, the servants of the latter drew their swords in the church, wounded Sir John, his son, and some others of the family, and killed one Thomas Petwardy, a citizen of London, who, to accommodate the matter between them, had thrust himself into the scuffle. This affair being brought before the Archbishop, he interdicted the Church, as having been polluted with blood, and publicly excommunicated the authors and accomplices of the crime at St. Paul's

dinary procedure was followed by a formal declaration from the Duke of Clarence, in the name of the King and people of England, "That if his Imperial Majesty was to land as a friend, an ally, and a mediator of peace, they were ready to receive him with all the respect and honours due to his high dignity; but that the Crown and nation of England being free and independent, they were there ready to oppose his landing, if he claimed any power as a paramount Sovereign." The Emperor

satisfying the company, that he came to England with no view of claiming or exercising any such power, but as a friend and mediator of peace, he was received on shore with the most profound demonstrations of regard; and he was magnificently entertained upon the road from Dover to London. Henry in person met him on Blackheath, from whence he attended him to London, and then to Windsor; where he was installed a Knight of the Garter.

Paul's cross. And sitting as Judge in St. Paul's church, after he had examined the fact, he obliged the Lord Strange and his Lady to ask the church's pardon on their knees before him ; and imposed this farther penance on them, that their servants in their shirts and drawers only, and he and his wife with tapers in their hands, should walk from St. Paul's church to St. Dunstan's : which was accordingly performed with great solemnity ; and, when Archbishop Chichely purified St. Dunstan's church, the Lady Strange filled the vessels with water ; and each of them were commanded to offer a pyx, and an altar-cloth.

In 1417, the Earl of Huntingdon being sent to sea with a strong squadron, met with the united fleets of France and Genoa, whom he fought and defeated, though they were greatly superior to him, not only in number, but in the strength & largeness of their ships, taking the Bastard of Bourbon, who was the French Admiral, prisoner, with four large Genoese ships, and on board them a quarter's pay for the whole navy. A transaction, which is an evident proof of the considerable naval power of the English, even at this period. Shortly after, King Henry landed in Normandy, at the head of twenty-five thousand men ; upon which Archbishop Chichely commanded all the Bishops of his province to cause processions to be made, in all churches and chapels, for the safety of the King, and the success of his arms.

King Henry met with no considerable opposition to him from any quarter. He made himself master of Caen, Bayeux, Lisieux, Courcy, Argenton, Seez, Alencon, and several other places of consequence. And on the 26th of November, 1417, Archbishop Chichely held a fourth synod at London, upon a command from the King, by letters out of France. In this synod were present the Bishop of Durham, Lord-Chancellor, Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, and the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who were sent thither by John, Duke of Bedford, (who had been appointed Regent of the kingdom, during the absence of his brother, King Henry,) in order to desire of the Clergy a supply of money for the King ; which being seconded by the Archbishop, they granted two tenths.

By this time King Henry had taken Falaise, Evreux, Cherburgh, and other towns ; and having subdued all the Lower Normandy, and received a reinforcement of fourteen thousand men from England, he formed the siege of Rouen, which was defended by a garrison of four thousand men, seconded by the inhabitants, to the number of fifteen thousand. The Pope's Legates were employed to endeavour to prevail upon Henry to relinquish the siege of Rouen ; and the Cardinal d'Ursini went to the English camp, and offered himself as a mediator ; but Henry lent a deaf ear to all his propositions, and, after an obstinate siege, made himself master of Rouen. Archbishop Chichely repaired to the King at this place ; and as Henry, notwithstanding the success of his arms, still continued to nego-

ciate with the enemy, the Archbishop was appointed one of the Commissioners for treating of a peace between England and France. There were joined in this commission with the Archbishop, the Bishop of Winchester, the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, and several others, among whom was Thomas Chaucer. This negotiation, however, came to nothing; and indeed Henry does not seem to have been very sincere in his overtures of peace. Archbishop Chichely continued some time with the King at Rouen, being entertained in a convent of preaching Friars there; and afterwards attended his Majesty in his camp at Meudon and Pontoise; from whence he returned into England about the End of August, 1419. On the 30th of October, the same year, he held a fifth synod at London, in which he obtained a farther supply from the Clergy, in order to enable the King to prosecute the war with France; after which he again ordered processions to be made in all churches for the King's success.

King Henry had now made himself master of Pontoise and Gisors: he even threatened Paris, and by the terror of his arms had obliged the Court to remove to Troyes. In short, he had reduced so large a part of France to his obedience, that the unfortunate Monarch Charles VI. was forced to beg a peace almost upon any terms. Accordingly, on the 21st of May, 1420, the treaty of Troyes was concluded; by which it was agreed, that King Henry should espouse the Princess Catherine, the French King's daughter; that King Charles, during his life-time, should enjoy the title and dignity of King of France; that Henry should be declared and acknowledged heir of that Monarchy, and be entrusted with the present administration of the government; that that kingdom should pass to his heirs general; that France and England should for ever be united under one King; but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges; and that all the Princes, Peers, vassals, and Communities of France, should swear, both that they would adhere to the future succession of Henry, and pay him present obedience as Regent. As for the Dauphin, he was declared incapable of succeeding to the Crown.

On the 10th of June, 1420, Archbishop Chichely took shipping at Winchelsea, and sailed over to France, to congratulate the King upon his late marriage with the Princess Catherine; he was present in the King's camp at the siege of Melun, one of the places which still held out against Henry, notwithstanding the late treaty, being in the interest of the Dauphin. After the surrender of Melun, Chichely accompanied the King to Paris. For the two Kings, Henry and Charles, with their two Queens, continued for some time in that city together, where Henry kept a splendid Court. But Chichely returned into England about the end of November. From Paris, King Henry went into Normandy, where he held an assembly of the States,

States, and then passing through Picardy to Calais, arrived at Dover with his new Queen, in February, 1421; and Queen Catherine was crowned at Westminster with great magnificence by Archbishop Chicheley.

Some time before these transactions, our Archbishop had distinguished himself for his zeal against heresy. Indeed, a warm attachment to the doctrines, and to the rights of the Church, was an eminent part of Chicheley's Character. A severe prosecution having been commenced against the Lollards, one John Cleyden, a citizen of London, was arrested, on suspicion of heresy, and brought before the Archbishop. He acknowledged, that he had before been committed to prison, on suspicion of heresy; but that he had since made several abjurations. He said, that since that time, he had declined all company with heretics; but acknowledged, that he had in his custody several English books, and one was produced particularly, called the LANTHORN OF LIGHT, which Clayden acknowledged he knew, and owned that he had it transcribed at his own expence by one John Graham. He acknowledged that he could not himself read; but that he approved of many things in that book, as being sound doctrine, and profitable to his soul. Upon this, the Archbishop ordered that book, and several other English books, to be delivered to Robert Gibert, doctor of divinity, and to William Lyndewood, a famous civilian (r). In consequence of which, on the Monday following, the Archbishop was presented with a list of heretical articles, extracted from the said books; among which were, "that the parable of the tares was interpreted to signify those corrupt decrees, which the Pope had sowed among the laws of CHRIST; that the Archbishops and Bishops were the seats of the beast Anti-Christ; that there ought not to be splendid and pompous ornaments in churches; that the Pope's and Bishops' indulgencies were vain and insignificant; that the laity were not obliged to obey the Prelates in all their demands; that adoration of images, or paying any manner of reverence to them, was unlawful; and that no pilgrimages ought to be made to them." There could be no doubt of the heresy of these articles. The Archbishop, therefore, declared Cleyden to be a relapsed heretic; and accordingly adjudged him to the secular

(r) *William Lyndewood* is considered as one of the greatest Canonists this nation has produced, and possessed also great abilities as a Statesman. He was first of Gonville-Hall in Cambridge, and next took his degree of Doctor at Oxford. He was keeper of the Privy Seal to Henry V. and employed by him in many important negotiations, particularly to the Courts of Spain and Portugal.

By Henry VI he was sent to the Council of Basil; and, in the year 1454, he was made Bishop of St. David's. His principal performance is his *Provinciale seu Constitutiones Anglie*. This work contains the provincial decrees of forty Archbishops, digested into order, with large and learned commentaries upon them. He died in 1446.

secular powers, by whom he was added to the number of victims to ecclesiastical cruelty and bigotry, by being burnt in Smithfield.

However, as the Church was not yet sufficiently secure, Archbishop Chichely, in a convocation held at London, made a constitution, which he directed to the Bishop of London, and his other Suffragans, enjoining them and all Archdeacons in the province of Canterbury, with their Officials and Commissaries, in their several jurisdictions, diligently to enquire twice every year after the persons *suspected* of heresy; that, where any *reputed heretics* were reported to dwell, three or more of that parish should be obliged to take an oath, that they would send certificates in writing to the Suffragans, Archdeacons, or their Commissaries, of any persons who went to conventicles, or *differed in life and manners* from the conversation of other Catholics, or asserted heresy and errors, or had any suspected books in the English tongue, or *received, favoured, or were conversant* with, any persons *esteemed* heretics. That the diocesans, upon information, should issue out process against the accused persons; and if they did not deliver them over to the secular Court, that yet they should commit them to the perpetual or temporal prisons, as the quality of the case should require. These injunctions were carried into execution with a fiery zeal, and the Bishops obliged all whom they suspected, to swallow abjurations in very copious terms.

In another convocation, in which Archbishop Chichely presided, one William Taylor, a master of arts, was prosecuted for preaching the following opinions: "That prayers ought to be made to none but God: that worship was not due to the human, but to the divine nature of our SAVIOUR: that it was absolutely unlawful to invoke the Saints, or any created Beings: that to offer any thing to a crucifix, or to the figure of any of the Saints, was rank idolatry: that our SAVIOUR'S doctrine never taught, or encouraged, a monastic life; and that, according to the gospel, the exercise of temporal jurisdiction, in offices of state and justice, were incompatible with the character of a Clergyman." Lyndewood, Brown, and other eminent Civilians, were ordered to take the case of Taylor under their consideration. Their opinion was, That, when any person suspected of heretical pravity, stood excommunicated for a year, that that was sufficient of itself to fix upon him the charge of heresy; but that, upon his repentance, he ought to be received into the communion of the Church. If, however, he should return to his former false opinions, he was then to be delivered over to the secular arm, which Taylor accordingly was.

Soon after Henry's marriage with Catherine of France, Archbishop Chichely held a sixth synod at London; in which he obtained of the Clergy a tenth for the service of the King; which

which was granted upon some conditions, put in by William Lyndewood, in the name of the Proctors for the Clergy. Some of which conditions were these: "That the King's Purveyors should not meddle with the goods of the Clergy; that they should not be committed to prison, but upon manifest conviction of theft or murder; and that for all other crimes they should only find sureties for their appearance at their trial, but should not be imprisoned." All which, it is said, were confirmed by the King in Parliament. It appears, from this, that the Clergy were not willing, like the injudicious Laity, to give away their money without reaping any advantages from it; and the prudent manner in which they timed their demands, sufficiently shews, that they possessed much of the wisdom of the *Serpent*, whatever they did of the harmlessness of the *Dove*. It is said, that Archbishop Chichely, after the breaking up of this synod, used some endeavours to unite the Churches of England and France: and that to this end, he recalled those judges he had placed, to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in most of the dioceses conquered by the King; and by his letters commanded all the people of France, that for the future they should obey their own Bishops, and the ordinaries of the places in which they lived.

King Henry having raised a very considerable sum of money, and recruited his army, ordered a considerable fleet to be collected together, and passed over into France, leaving the Duke of Bedford Regent of the kingdom. He left Queen Catherine behind him, big with child. The Dauphin had still a considerable party, many strong towns, and several large provinces, under his obedience. During Henry's stay in England, he had obtained both power and reputation, by defeating a great part of the English army, and killing the Duke of Clarence, and several other persons of distinction, on the spot, and taking the Earls of Somerset, Dorset, and Huntingdon, prisoners. This induced King Henry, when he returned into France, to use his utmost efforts in the prosecution of the war, in order that the kingdom might be entirely reduced. When he arrived at Paris, of which city he had left his uncle, the duke of Exeter, governor during his absence, he was received with great appearance of joy; but he immediately conducted his army to Chartres, which had long been besieged by the Dauphin. The French Prince, however, retired with his army on the approach of the English; upon which Henry made himself master of Dreux, and laid siege to Meaux; which made so brave a defence, that it was seven months before it was taken.

While Henry was thus employed, the Queen, who was at Windsor, was delivered of a son, who was christened by Archbishop Chichely. The birth of this Prince was as much celebrated by rejoicings in Paris, as at London; for he seemed to be universally considered as the future heir of both Monarchies.

As soon as the Queen was able to travel, she went over to the King in France, accompanied by the Duke of Bedford, who left his brother Gloucester Regent in his absence. The two Courts passed the Whitsun holidays together at Paris; and on the day of Pentecost, the two Kings and Queens dined together in public, with their Crowns upon their heads. Both Courts continued some time at Paris together: but the ever-active Henry took the field again in the month of June, in order to raise the siege of a city, before which the Dauphin lay. In this expedition, he fatigued himself so much, that he found a great alteration in his health, which had hitherto been unprejudiced by his continual fatigues. In consequence of his want of rest, and still assiduous application to business, he was seized with an inflammatory fever, which proved fatal to him, at Vincennes, on the 31st of August, 1422. Henry enjoyed his senses to the last, and met death with that courage and intrepidity, by which he had always been distinguished. He sent for his brother the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Warwick, and a few more Noblemen, and delivered to them, with great tranquillity, his last will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He left the Regency of France to the Duke of Bedford, and that of England to the Duke of Gloucester. This victorious Prince, who was indisputably one of the greatest Princes who ever swayed the sceptre of England, was only in his thirty-fourth year when he died, and had reigned but nine years and an half (s).

Henry VI. from the place of his birth filed HENRY of WINDSOR, succeeded his father before he was a year old. And in less than two months after Henry's death, Charles VI. of France terminated his unhappy life, and young Henry was immediately proclaimed King of France at Paris. In the first Parliament after the death of Henry V. held at Westminster the 9th of November, 1422, Archbishop Chichely was appointed to declare the cause of their meeting. This he did in a set speech; in which, having spoken largely in praise of the virtues of the late King, and his heroic actions in France, he proceeded to speak of the young King, and affirmed, "That it was by the special favour of Almighty God, that a son of such

(s) In this reign the long schism, which had divided the Romish Church for near forty years, received its final determination by the Council of Constance; which deposed Pope John XXIII. for his crimes, (among which were numbered heresy, simony, hypocrisy, adultery, sodomy, and murder,) and elected Martin V. in his place, who was acknowledged by almost all the kingdoms of Europe.

The authority which was assumed by this Council, as well as by some others, made the Roman pontiffs very averse to such assemblies. At the Council of Constance, forty-five propositions, said to be drawn from Wickliff's writings, were condemned as heretical; and if he had not happily been removed out of the reach of persecution, there is no room to doubt but he would have shared the

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“ such promising hopes should succeed so great a father ; that
 “ his very title of the *sixth* was attended with a lucky omen ;
 “ for as the number *six* was the most complete of all the rest,
 “ because in so many days God Almighty had made this vast
 “ fabric of the world ; so this King Henry, the sixth of that
 “ name, would prove the greatest of all his predecessors, and
 “ complete what his father had so prosperously begun in
 “ France ; and that, as he was descended both from the Kings
 “ of England and France, so he would at length enjoy both
 “ those Crowns, which were devolved to him by lawful inher-
 “ itance.” The Archbishop then declared, in the King’s name,
 to the Peers, and all the people, “ That they should enjoy all
 “ the privileges and immunities granted them by his High-
 “ ness’s predecessors ; and that he was commanded to give them
 “ three reasons for calling this Parliament ; which were, That
 “ governors might be assigned the King by a public act ; that
 “ they might consult about the peace of the Realm, and the ad-
 “ ministration of justice ; and that they might provide for the
 “ defence of the kingdom against the insults of foreign ene-
 “ mies.” Lastly, he exhorted them, from the example of
 Jethro, Moses’s father-in-law, “ To make choice of the best
 “ and wisest of the Nobility, to take upon them the govern-
 “ ment of the King and kingdom, and to use their utmost en-
 “ deavours for the safety of the King, and the benefit of their
 “ country.”

Our Archbishop appears evidently not to have been cadued
 with the gift of prophecy ; for Henry VI. from whose reign he
 seemed so confidently to predict so much happiness, lived to be
 one of the most unfortunate Monarchs that ever sat upon the
 Throne of England. The Parliament appointed the Duke of
 Bedford, a Prince of great courage, experience, and Abilities,
 Protector of England ; though they empowered his brother, the
 Duke of Gloucester, to govern in his absence. They also ap-
 pointed a Council, by whose advice and consent, with the con-
 currence

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fate of John Huss and Jerom of Prague ; for though he had been one
 and forty years in his grave, yet they
 declared him an obstinate heretic,
 and pronounced him and his me-
 mory accursed, and ordered that his
 bones should be dug out of his grave,
 and scattered about. But this sen-
 tence was not executed till 1428,
 when orders were sent by the Pope
 to Flemming, Bishop of Lincoln, to
 remove his bones ; whose officers ac-
 cordingly took them out of the
 grave, burnt them, and cast the ashes
 into a brook adjoining, called Swift,
 John Huss, and Jerom of Prague,

who had adopted, and inculcated the
 tenets of Wickliff, were also con-
 demned by this Council, and burned
 to death ; though Huss had been
 brought to the Council by the Em-
 peror, under a safe conduct. Thus
 an assembly of Bishops, collected
 from every part of Christendom,
 under the pretence of promoting
 peace in the Church, were guilty of
 an action, of which it is not speaking
 with too much harshness, to say, that
 it would have disgraced an assembly
 of Savages ! An admirable proof,
 most certainly, of the *infallibility* of
 Councils.

currence of the Protector, all the affairs of the kingdom were to be administered. Of these Counsellors, Archbishop Chicheley was the first. The Parliament also appointed Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, and his brother Henry Beaufort, Cardinal and Bishop of Winchester, the legitimated sons of John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster, to take care of the young King's person and education.

After the death of Charles VI. King of France, many French Noblemen, who had submitted to the English government during the reign of that Prince, now declared in favour of the Dauphin, notwithstanding the treaty of Troyes, which they considered as the effect of violence and compulsion. And the Dauphin was proclaimed and crowned King of France at Poitiers, under the name of Charles VII. The Duke of Bedford, however, assembled all the French Noblemen who adhered to the English interest, and they took the oath of allegiance to young Henry, which was likewise exacted of all the towns in possession of the English; and after this ceremony, the Council of France, and the city of Paris, sent deputies to London, to congratulate the young King upon his accession to both Crowns. About this time St. Valery, a place in the interest of the Dauphin, by the French now styled Charles VII. surrendered to the English on capitulation. But the officers of Charles also gained some advantages in other places. The Duke of Bedford, agreeable to the plan which his brother Henry had projected, resolved to subdue all the places which were possessed by Charles on this side the Loire; and while he was making preparations for the execution of this plan, one of the officers of that Prince surprized Meulan by escalade; but the Duke of Bedford in person soon retook it; after which he repaired to Amiens, where he had an interview with the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and signed with the latter a league and confederacy against Charles, and also married Anne, sister of the Duke of Burgundy. The Duke of Bedford consummated his marriage at Troyes; and in his way to Paris with his young consort, took Pont-sur-Seine by assault. Several other places of consequence were also subdued by the English arms; and the officers of Charles having formed the siege of Crevant in Burgundy, the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk were sent to its relief, upon which a fierce action ensued, in which the troops of Charles were totally defeated, after which two other places of importance surrendered to the English. The troops of the French King gained, however, some considerable advantages over the English in other places, and he received also a reinforcement of five thousand Scots, commanded by the Earl of Douglas. These succours arrived at a very seasonable juncture for Charles, who greatly caressed the Scotch officers.

Having taken this view of the state of public affairs, we will return again to our Archbishop.—We have already observed, that

that Chichely was nominated to be the first privy Counsellor during the minority of the King ; but he nevertheless chose to decline public business, and retired within the bounds of his province, in which he is said to have performed the duties of his function with great diligence. In 1423, by virtue of his metropolitical authority, he visited the dioceses of Chichester and Salisbury, and the following year that of Lincoln. About this time he founded a noble college at Higham Ferrers, the place of his birth, in honour of the Virgin Mary, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and King Edward the Confessor, for eight fellows, four clerks, six choristers, and over them all a master, to pray for the souls of the deceased. He also built a large hospital, for the maintenance of the poor of that place. And he endowed both these foundations with ample revenues, which were afterwards augmented with large legacies by his brothers Robert and William Chichely, Aldermen of London.

In some convocations of the Clergy, held about this period, by Archbishop Chichely, several persons were tried for heresy. Two Priests, Robert Hake, of the diocese of Lincoln, and Thomas Drayton, of the diocese of Canterbury, were brought before the synod, and accused of having refused to kneel to a crucifix, and of having books in their possession which denied Transubstantiation. They were further charged with affirming, That monastic institutions, and auricular confession, were diabolical inventions; and that every thing ought to be in common amongst Christians. How far these charges were made out against them, does not appear; but it is certain they were obliged to renounce all these tenets at St. Paul's cross. One Russel was likewise charged with maintaining, That tythes were not claimable by any *divine right*. It was impossible that a doctrine of so dangerous a tendency as this, should pass unnoticed. He was ordered to make a recantation at St. Paul's; but, in the mean time, being either unwilling to do this, or apprehensive of worse consequences from the resentment of the Clergy, he took an opportunity of making his escape out of England. He was, however, solemnly excommunicated; and the University of Oxford made an order, "That all persons, before they were admitted to any degree, should be sworn not to maintain any of Russel's opinions."—We may here observe, that the Clergy of later times seem to have considerably changed their sentiments in this matter; for a certain Right Reverend Writer, who is well known to be no enemy to the civil establishments of the Clergy, hath lately jocosely asserted, "That the Priest's *divine right* to a tenth part, and the King's *divine right* to the other nine, went out of fashion together."

The war in France was still carried on with various success. Whilst the Duke of Bedford was exerting all his activity and conduct, in attempting to clear the northern provinces of the

troops and adherents of Charles, he received intelligence that one of that Prince's officers had surprized Ivry, a place of importance on the frontiers of Normandy; he therefore marched immediately thither to retake it, before the French could have time to put it in a proper posture of defence. The siege was undertaken in the middle of July, and the governor agreed to surrender the town, if not relieved by the 15th day of August. Charles, informed of these conditions, determined to make an attempt for saving the place. He assembled an army of twenty thousand men, French, Scots, and Italians; and he sent them thither under the command of the Earl of Buchan, Constable of France, who was attended by the Earl of Douglass, his countryman, and the Duke of Alencon. When they arrived within a few leagues of Ivry, they found that they were come too late, and that the place was already surrendered. Upon this, they turned to the left, and made themselves masters of Verneuil; and hearing that the Duke of Bedford approached, it was determined to wait his arrival, and to give him battle, though this was contrary to the opinion of the Earls of Buchan and Douglass. The Duke of Bedford accordingly arriving with his army, which consisted of thirteen thousand men, an obstinate engagement ensued, in which the French and Scots were totally defeated. The Earl of Buchan, the Earl of Douglass and his son, many other considerable Nobility, and about five thousand French and Scots, were left dead upon the field of battle, and a great number wounded and taken. The loss of the Duke of Bedford is computed at seventeen hundred men. The Duke, at the head of his victorious troops, attacked Verneuil the next day, which surrendered in three days; and in this place the English found all the baggage belonging to the French, Scottish, and Italian Generals, together with the money destined for the pay of the soldiers. This action was a terrible stroke to Charles, who lost in it the flower of his army, and is even said to have been so reduced, as to be in want of money for his personal subsistence.

Thus far the English affairs in France seem to have gone on very happily. But they were soon after this much injured by the Duke of Gloucester, who acted as Protector during the absence of his brother the Duke of Bedford, employing the succours which should have been sent into France, in Holland and Hainault, to recover some dominions which he claimed in the Low Countries, in virtue of his marriage with Jaqueline, Dutcheß of Hainault.

About this time, Archbishop Chicheley is said to have very much exerted himself, in endeavouring to bring about an accommodation between the Duke of Gloucester, and the Bishop of Winchester, his uncle, who were at high variance; but this he could not effect. And the Duke of Gloucester exhibited articles of impeachment against the Bishop in Parliament;

Parliament; which, upon examination, appeared frivolous, and the Bishop was acquitted. However, the Parliament exhorted both parties to lay aside their mutual animosity, and they embraced each other with an appearance of perfect reconciliation.

At this period, Archbishop Chichely had the misfortune to fall under the displeasure of the Papal See. It is said, that the present Pope, Martin V. had conceived a peculiar grudge against our Primate, because in his first synod he had moved for the annulling of papal exemptions, and also because he had written to King Henry V. to stop the Cardinalate of the Bishop of Winchester. However, the principal cause of the Pope's falling upon Chichely at this time, seems evidently to have been a desire to get the statutes of *Provisors* and *Premunire* repealed. Of the nature and design of these statutes, some account will be found, p. 19, 20, & 29, of this work. These laws had always been extremely disagreeable to the Court of Rome; but as the Papacy had lately been greatly embroiled by schisms, the Roman pontiffs had been less able to exert themselves against them. But Martin V. being firmly seated in the papal chair, began to reassume the spirit of his predecessors, Chichely had made no opposition to the statute against *Provisors* in the fourth year of Henry V. In the eighth year of the same reign, when the Pope had granted a provision of the Archbishopric of York, to the Bishop of Lincoln, the Chapter of York rejected it, and pursuant to the former statute, made a canonical election. Henry V. was so spirited, and so powerful a Prince, that the Pope did not think it prudent to offend him: the law, therefore, took place without any further contradiction. The Pope, however, thinking the present circumstances of affairs more favourable to his views, in a letter which he sent to Archbishop Chichely, dated December 5, 1426, expostulated severely with him for his remissness, in not having stood up more for the rights of St. Peter, and the See of Rome, that had bestowed on him the Primacy of England. His Holiness then said many things against the statute of *Premunire*, and exhorted him to imitate the example of his predecessor, St. Thomas of Canterbury, the martyr (r), in asserting the rights of the Church; requiring him, on pain of excommunication, to declare

(r) Thomas Becket, Lord Chancellor, and Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Henry II. Before Becket was raised to the See of Canterbury, he was a very supple Courtier, and conformed himself in every thing to the humour of the King. But after he was made Archbishop, he occasioned much disturbance by his pride, insolence, and turbulence; under the pretence of preserving the rights, privileges, and

immunities of the Church. In 1171, four persons murdered him in the cathedral church of Canterbury, by which action they hoped to make their Court to the King, to whom Becket had given great trouble and vexation. In 1173, Becket was canonized, by virtue of a bull from the Pope. In 1221, his body was taken up, in the presence of King Henry the 3d, and several Nobility, and deposited in a rich shrine, on the east side

clare in the next Parliament to both Houses, the unlawfulness of that statute; and that all were under excommunication, who obeyed it. He also commanded Chichely to give orders, under the same penalties, that all the Clergy of England should preach the same doctrine to the people.

The Archbishop, unwilling to incur the displeasure of the Holy Father, sent an excuse for that part of his conduct, of which the Pope complained. It is, indeed, intimated, that Chichely was inclined to have opposed the pontiff, but that he found himself not likely to be supported, and therefore submitted, considering the power of the Pope as too great for him to oppose singly. And, indeed, though Chichely was undoubtedly a warm assertor of the rights of the Church, yet there is no difficulty in conceiving, that if his own more immediate interests clashed with those of the pontiff, he might prefer the former. However, it appears that the Pope was not satisfied with the Archbishop's answer; for he sent him a second letter, still more severe than the first, and in which he suspended Chichely's legantine power. But from this sentence the Archbishop appealed to the next general Council; or, if none met, to the tribunal of GOD, and JESUS CHRIST.

In another letter which the Pope sent to the Archbishop, he again exhorted him to use all his endeavours for repealing the statute, and severely rebuked him for having said, "That the Pope's zeal in this matter, was only that he might raise much money out of England." This the pontiff resented as an high injury; and protested, that he designed only to maintain those rights, which CHRIST himself had granted to his See, which the Holy Fathers, the Councils, and the Catholic Church, had always acknowledged. But the Pope afterwards sent

side of the church. The miracles said to be wrought at his tomb were so numerous, that we are told two large volumes of them were kept in Canterbury church. His character, however, was thought so ambiguous by some, even among the Catholics themselves, that, some time after Becket's death, it was publicly debated in the University of Paris, "Whether the soul of Becket was in Heaven, or in Hell." It must, however, be at least acknowledged, that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a Saint of great fame and reputation. For his shrine was visited from all parts, and enriched with the most costly gifts and offerings. In one year, it is said, that no less than one hundred thousand came to visit his tomb. And we may form some

judgment of the veneration which was paid to his memory, by the account given of the offerings made to the three greatest altars in Christ's Church, which stood thus for one year.

	l.	s.	d.
At Christ's Altar - - - -	3	2	6
At the blessed Virgin's -	63	5	6
At Becket's - - - -	832	12	6

But the following year, when probably the Saint's character was still more established in the world, the odds were greater, and St. Thomas carried all before him. The account was thus:

	l.	s.	d.
At Christ's Altar - - -	0	0	0
At the Virgin's - - -	4	1	8
At Becket's - - - -	954	6	2

sent a letter in a still higher strain, which was directed to the two Archbishops; and in which, in order to mortify Chichely, the Archbishop of York is named before Canterbury. In this the Pope pretended to annul the statutes made by Edward III. and Richard II. and commanded the Archbishops to do no act in pursuance of them; and declared, that if they, or any other gave obedience to them, they were *ipse facto* excommunicated.

To mollify the Pope's displeasure against Chichely, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Lincoln, wrote to the pontiff in his behalf. The University of Oxford likewise interceded for him; and, in a letter to Pope Martin, after giving Chichely a very extraordinary character, calling him, "the mirror of life, the light of manners, a person most dear to the people and Clergy, and a golden candlestick set up in the Church of England," they besought his Holiness, "that he would not suffer the credit of so eminent a Prelate to be blasted by the secret calumnies of detractors." These letters in behalf of Chichely were sent by an express to Rome; and the Archbishop himself wrote in a very humble and submissive manner to the Pope, protesting, that he had done, and would do all that was in his power, for repealing these statutes.

But the good pontiff did not content himself with the applications he had already made, in order to procure a repeal of those statutes, which were so much the objects of his aversion. He determined to exert himself to the utmost, in the support of the rights of St. Peter. He, therefore, wrote two letters to the King, and one to the Parliament. In his letter to the Parliament, he told them, that no man could be saved, who was for the observation of the statute of *Premunire*. He therefore required them, under pain of damnation, to repeal it, and offered to secure them from any abuses, which might formerly have been occasioned by papal provisions. The representations and remonstrances of Pope Martin had, however, by no means the effect which he expected from them. Instead of being intimidated by the terrors of damnation, with which he had enforced his demands, the government of England had even imprisoned the Nuncio who had delivered the letters and bulls of his Holiness. The Pope highly resented this insult; and, in a letter which he sent to the Duke of Bedford, after calling the act of *Premunire* a detestable statute, he complained, that his Nuncios had met with a treatment in England, more barbarous than they could have met with among the Turks and Saracens. He concluded, however, with exhorting his Grace to do all he could for the repeal of these statutes.

The Parliament meeting in January, 1427, Archbishop Chichely, accompanied by the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, St. David's, Ely, and Norwich, and the Abbots of Westminster and Reading, went from the House of Lords, to the place where the House of Commons commonly sat, which

was

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At Becket's - - - -	954	6	2

further courses of justice. Matters by this means coming to an irreconcilable extremity between the Pope and the Council, appeals were made on both sides to the several Churches of Europe, of which the most considerable, at that time, was looked upon to be the Church of England. The Archbishop of Canterbury, therefore, was applied to by both sides, and he accordingly assembled another synod on the 15th of September, 1432. In this assembly of the Clergy, the members of the lower house of convocation were very free in exposing the mean qualifications of some of the Bishops, and other ecclesiastical Judges. The result of the deliberations of the synod were, that more delegates should be sent from England to the Council, and that some of them should repair to the Pope, in order to attempt an accommodation.

About this time a dispute arose between Archbishop Chichely, and Kemp, Archbishop of York. The latter having obtained a Cardinal's cap, claimed precedency of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Parliament House. Chichely opposed this with great earnestness. He said, he knew of no precedency which the dignity of Cardinal gave, and that no spiritual personage could have the precedency of himself within his own province. But the Pope, before whom the matter was laid, declared himself to be of a different opinion. For in a letter which he wrote to Chichely upon the subject, he maintained the dignity of Cardinalship from what is intimated by Moses, in the seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy; which distinction of Priesthood, the learned pontiff said, was afterwards instituted by St. Peter. He then attempted to prove the dignity of the Cardinalship from the great distinction bestowed upon it by the Popes; and intreated the Archbishop to give up the matter in favour of the conclave, promising him, in return, all friendly offices.

In 1434, in a synod held by our Primate, the Clergy grievously complained of the proceedings of the King's Judges and the common lawyers; "That, against all law and equity, Priests were brought before the *secular* Courts; that the power of the ecclesiastical Judges was restrained by their unjust prohibitions; and particularly that they wrested the statute of Richard II. against Provisors, to the prejudice of the ecclesiastical Courts." Archbishop Chichely hereupon, in a pathetic speech to the synod, expressed "how solicitous he was, that the Church should receive no prejudice under his government; and that it might be delivered from the illegal oppressions of the lawyers, and be restored to its ancient dignity;" and recommended to them to consider, "what measures were to be taken to ease the Clergy of the weight of these oppressions?" Our good Primate, by restoring the Church to its *ancient dignity*, appears to have meant, considering the Clergy entirely independent of the *civil Magistrate*. For it is complained of, as a *grievance*, that, "against all

“and equity, *Priests* were brought before the *secular Courts*.” It appears, however, that Archbishop Chichely and the convocation did not come to any resolution about the means of redressing these grievances of the Clergy. For the plague breaking out in the city, the synod was soon dissolved; the only important business which this reverend assembly had concluded, being the appointment of a holiday, to be kept in honour of St. Frideswide, protectress of the University of Oxford, and denouncing excommunication against all those who should detract from the privileges and jurisdiction of the Church.

In 1437, Archbishop Chichely caused a large and stately edifice to be erected in the north part of the suburbs of Oxford. For our Primate, it is said, had for a long time designed to erect some noble monument, for the service of religion and learning, and for his own glory. For, at that time, the estates of private persons, as well as the public revenues, being greatly exhausted by the long continuance of the French war, the University (we are told) was so thin and empty, that most of the colleges and halls were quite forsaken by the students. Wherefore, that he might by his bounty repair the decays of learning, occasioned by the general poverty of the kingdom, he gave orders for the erection of this edifice, which he designed for a college. But, when the work was almost finished, whether it was, that he found fault with the structure, or did not like the situation of it, he changed his mind, and gave it to the Monks of St. Bernard, for the reception of novices out of all the convents of that order, to study the arts and divinity. It was afterwards, at the dissolution of the monasteries, purchased by Sir Thomas White, merchant of London, who founded there the college of St. John Baptist. However, he chose another place for building a college, very commodious for the students, in the middle of the town, near St. Mary's church; and pulling down the houses which stood there, he laid out a square court. The walls of this new building were finished about the latter end of the year 1439, and the workmen had begun to lay the roof. The Archbishop had purchased lands and manors for the perpetual maintenance thereof; and the King, upon the Archbishop's application, by his letters patent, constituted this building a college, and granted it very large privileges. He also gave the founder leave to place in it a warden and fellows, and to make laws and statutes for the government of the society. The Archbishop went the next year to Oxford, where he solemnly consecrated the chapel of his college, and made Richard Andrew, doctor of laws, and chancellor of Canterbury, warden of it. He also appointed twenty fellows, being all men selected out of the whole University, to whom he gave power to elect into their society twenty more: of which number he ordered, that twenty-four should study divinity, and the liberal sciences, and the other sixteen the civil and canon law. He also commanded

commanded all the members of his foundation to pray for the souls of King Henry V. of Thomas, Duke of Clarence, and of the Nobility and common soldiers who had been killed in the French war. For which reason he ordered his college to be called, *The College of All Souls departed in the faith*. He added also two chaplains, several choristers, and servants. After this, he prescribed them laws and statutes, and committed the care of beautifying and enlarging it to Robert Keyes, afterwards warden.

In 1438, Archbishop Chichely held a synod at London; in which he complained of a late injury offered him by Pope Eugenius, who, by his sole authority, had given the Bishopric of Ely in commendam to Lewis de Luxemburgh, Archbishop of Rouen, and by his bull had confirmed him in the government of that See; and therefore he recommended it to the synod to consider how to put a stop to a proceeding, which had never been attempted by any Pope before. But Philip Morgan, who was then Bishop of Ely, out-living the Archbishop of Rouen, the Pope's design was frustrated. In 1439, Archbishop Chichely held another synod; but was hindered by some indisposition from being at the opening of it. However, a few days after, he came, and in a long speech, in which, it is said, he could hardly refrain from tears, he reckoned up the miseries of the Church, proceeding from "the penalties daily inflicted by the ecclesiastical Judges, which by the statute of *Premunire* were designed " against *Provisors*; and from the citations of the *Clergy* to the " *secular Courts*." Whereupon it was unanimously agreed, that the Archbishop should present a remonstrance to the King upon the subject of these grievances. Which being done, the King answered, " That he would lay their petition before the " next Parliament; and that, in the mean time, he would take " care that no one should be molested by his Judges upon the " account of that statute, unless the cause were first approved by " himself, or the privy Council." This answer of the King's so pleased the synod, that they immediately granted him a whole tenth, with this express condition, that the revenues and benefices belonging to the college of All Souls, lately founded by Archbishop Chichely, should not be included in the concession.

By the bounty chiefly of the Duke of Gloucester, a large and magnificent structure had been erected at Oxford; the upper part of which was designed for a library, and the lower for the public divinity schools. To this work Archbishop Chichely gave a great sum of money himself, and solicited benefactions from the Bishops and Peers, who attended the Parliament at Westminster, to contribute towards it. He also gave two hundred marks to the public chest of the University; which he ordered to be kept by three masters of arts, two regents, and one non-regent, who were to be chosen yearly, and were to be bound by an oath to the faithful discharge of that trust: out of

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which money, the University might borrow for the public use five pounds, every particular college five marks, a master of arts forty shillings, a licentiate or bachelor two marks, and an undergraduate one; with this condition, that every one should deposit a sufficient pawn, which, if the money were not re-paid within a month, was to be forfeited. Besides which benefactions, he allowed yearly stipends to several poor students. He gave a considerable sum to beautify and adorn the cathedral of Canterbury, and build a steeple and a library, which he furnished with many valuable books in all kinds of learning. He also contributed largely to the building of Croyden church, and Rochester bridge. This eminent Prelate died the 12th of April, 1443, in a good old age, having enjoyed the archiepiscopal See upwards of twenty-nine years, and was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury, under a monument erected by himself.

Archbishop Chichely was one of the ablest men of the age in which he lived. He was a thorough politician, an eminent negociator, and was esteemed a fine speaker. He is said to have been a great patron of learning, and of learned men. He has also been applauded for his opposition to papal encroachments; but, perhaps, it may be doubted, whether he really deserves any considerable degree of praise on that account. From a review of Chichely's conduct, there seems reason to believe, that his opposition to the Roman pontiff, was chiefly in those cases, in which the exertion of the papal power was inconsistent with his own power, views, and interests. For, it is certain, that, in general, he was a zealous defender of the rights, prerogatives, and exorbitant power claimed by the Church. To which may be added, that he was a zealous persecutor of the Lollards; some allowance must indeed be made for the ignorance and superstitiousness of the times; but as the persecuting, imprisoning, and burning men for their opinions, in the name of CHRIST, is an enormity for which, we apprehend, no erection of colleges can atone; we must leave the defence of Archbishop Chichely's character, in this respect, to those who may chuse to undertake it.



The Life of JOHN TALBOT, Earl of Shrewsbury.

IT has been well observed by one of our biographical predecessors, that "a well-written life is a more noble and more lasting monument to the fame of a worthy man, than a tomb of porphyry." We cannot but regret, that no monument of this kind has ever yet been raised to the memory of the great, the gallant TALBOT. His name is often mentioned with distinguished honour in the English annals; but scarce any writer hath attempted to relate the transactions of his life; and, indeed, his name has been hardly mentioned in former works of this kind. It is not, therefore, possible for us, at so remote a period, to do justice to this celebrated hero. We shall, however, collect together in one point of view, such scattered particulars as are handed down to us concerning him; in order to lay before our readers, not such an account of him as we would wish to do, or which the merits of the brave Talbot deserve, but the best that we are able.

JOHN TALBOT, second son to Richard, Lord Talbot, was born at Blackmore in Shropshire, in the reign of King Richard the Second. His elder brother Gilbert, who succeeded to the family estates on the death of his father, married first Joan, one of the daughters and heiresses of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester; and, secondly, Beatrix, natural daughter to the King of Portugal; but he left only one daughter, named Ankeret, who dying without issue, John, the subject of our enquiry, succeeded to the honours and estates of his family.

His first summons to Parliament was in the eleventh year of the reign of King Henry IV. He married Maud, the eldest of the two daughters and coheirs of Sir Thomas Nevil, by Joan, sole daughter and heiress to William, Lord Furnival. In the first year of Henry V. he was committed to the Tower; but on what account we are not informed. He was, however, soon released; and so much in the favour of his Sovereign, as to be constituted, in the February following, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and had letters of protection sent him thither by the name of Sir John Talbot, Knight, Lord Furnival. At which time, it is said, that he retained James Butler, then Earl of Ormond, to serve him with his whole retinue upon occasion. Whilst he held this post, he took Donald Mac Murgha, an Irish rebel

rebel of considerable note and power ; and afterwards brought him prisoner to the Tower of London.

We cannot fix the exact time of his going over into France. It appears, however, that he attended King Henry V. at the siege of Caen in 1417 ; and the following year, in conjunction with Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Lord Talbot took the strong castle of Damfront ; and was afterwards present at the siege of Rouen. And in these, and in many other actions of importance, he acquired a very distinguished reputation by the intrepidity, conduct, and military skill, which upon every occasion he exerted. In short, he was esteemed one of the bravest of those brave officers, by whom the conquest of France had been achieved.

It seems that Lord Talbot returned into England either before, or about the time of King Henry the Fifth's death ; for in 1422, we find a writ was directed to him, to his younger brother Sir William Talbot, and to Sir Edmund Ferrers, for the suppression of certain riots in the counties of Salop, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, and the Welch Marches. These insurrections are supposed to have been occasioned by some persons who were attached to the interests of the Earl of Marche, the lineal heir to the Crown ; for the greater part of the adherents of the Mortimer family are said to have resided about the borders of Wales.

Lord Talbot had, however, too much of the enterprising spirit of an hero, to remain inactive at home. He again returned to the theatre of war, and of glory ; a scene in which he could not be long, without distinguishing himself. In 1427, the city of Mans, the chief of the Province of Maine, having been a considerable time in the hands of the English, and being now commanded by the Earl of Suffolk, D'Orval, an officer in the service of Charles VII. of France, having entered into a correspondence with a number Priests, and other inhabitants of the place, found means to throw himself with a body of troops into the town, in so sudden a manner, that he killed great numbers of the English ; and the Earl of Suffolk, with the remainder of the garrison, was obliged to take shelter in the citadel. They were there attacked by the French, who finding themselves unable to get possession of the castle, neglected it ; and after plundering some of the inhabitants, went to revellings and carousings for their late success. Lord Talbot, who was then at a considerable distance from the place, with a body of troops under his command, had intelligence of the whole transaction. Without a moment's delay, he drew out his men, put himself at their head, and marched all night till he arrived within two miles of Mans. He then sent Captain Goffe to learn the situation of affairs in the town ; who found means also, agreeable to his instructions from Lord Talbot, to give the Earl of Suffolk notice of his approach. The French, who imagined themselves

themselves secure of the place, had not yet invested it. Lord Talbot, therefore, threw himself and his troops into the city, by a postern which opened from the fields. He was immediately joined by the Earl of Suffolk and the garrison, who, on his entering the city, issued out from the citadel: upon which he attacked the enemy with such ardour and impetuosity; that all the French troops either fell by the sword, or were taken prisoners; and the English, in consequence, regained possession of the city. The unexpected recovery of this important place, which was entirely owing to the valour and good conduct of Lord Talbot, and which from the circumstances of it was considered as a very daring exploit, contributed to heighten that reputation, which his great military talents had before acquired.

After this transaction, Lord Talbot made himself master of the town of Laval, which he took by a escalade; and from thence marched with his troops to join the Earl of Warwick, in order to carry on the siege of Pontorfon. This was a very important place, and of great strength, and provided with a very strong garrison. It was the only place which prevented the Regent, the Duke of Bedford, from carrying the war beyond the Loire; and had been for some time invested by him, though without success. The place, however, after a siege of some months, was now obliged to capitulate; and the Earl of Warwick appointed Lord Talbot and Lord Ross governors of it.

In 1428, the Earl of Warwick having returned to England, being appointed governor to the young King Henry, in the room of the Duke of Exeter, lately deceased, Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, arrived in France with a reinforcement of six thousand men. As soon as he arrived at Paris, the Duke of Bedford gave him the command of an army amounting to sixteen thousand men, in order to reduce all the places that were possessed by Charles on this side the Loire. He began his march towards that river, accompanied by the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Talbot, Sir John Fastolf, and other officers of distinction. It was determined to undertake the siege of Orleans, as that important place was so situated between the provinces in the possession of the English, and those which were under the subjection of Charles, that it opened an easy entrance to either. On their way to Orleans, they made themselves masters of Jenville, Melun, Baugeci, Jergeau, Clery, Sully, and some other places; and at length they appeared before Orleans on the 12th of October.

The French, who were apprised of the designs of the English, had taken every precaution which might enable them to make a vigorous defence. The most able and distinguished officers of Charles had thrown themselves into the city; for they considered Orleans as the last great stake which their master had to play, and therefore determined to defend it to the utmost. They had likewise marched into the place a large body of
Scots,

Scots, and added many new and strong fortifications. In order to prevent the town from receiving succours, the Earl of Salisbury ordered sixty small forts or redoubts to be built around it, of which six were more considerable than the rest, for commanding the principal avenues of the place; and these were supplied with great artillery, by which the walls were incessantly battered. The garrison defended themselves with great resolution, and many acts of great valour were performed by the English assailants, among whom Lord Talbot eminently distinguished himself. In one of the sallies of the besieged, they had made a very vigorous effort, and made themselves masters of a bulwark on the bridge, which went from the city over the Loire, and also of another fort, and killed six hundred of the English, and then advanced towards that part where Lord Talbot commanded. He issued out upon them with his accustomed intrepidity, and charged them with the utmost fury, obliging them to relinquish the advantages they had obtained, and driving them back into the town with prodigious slaughter. And on every occasion which presented itself, Lord Talbot exhibited such striking proofs of uncommon valour, that his very name would strike terror into the French troops.

About this time the English army sustained a great loss. The Earl of Salisbury, a General of great valour and ability, was killed by a cannon ball whilst he was viewing the operations of the siege. His death, however, did not interrupt the prosecution of the siege, which was carried on with great vigour by the Earl of Suffolk, to whom the command devolved, and who was assisted by the gallant Talbot. The English army was too small to invest so large a city as Orleans; so that in spite of all the vigilance of the besiegers, the garrison received frequent succours. The besieged often sallied out with great resolution upon the English, and these sallies were frequently conducted by the Bastard of Orleans, one of Charles's bravest officers; but they were repulsed with equal vigour by the Lord Talbot, and Sir John Fastolf.

But notwithstanding the garrison made a very obstinate defence, and received frequent supplies, the English seemed daily, though slowly, advancing to the completion of their design. And Sir John Fastolf, who was bringing a large convoy of stores and provisions to the English camp, with a detachment of two thousand five hundred men under his command, being attacked by a body of four thousand French, had totally defeated them, and conducted his convoy in triumph to the camp. This action was commonly called the battle of the *Herrings*, because the convoy brought a large quantity of that kind of provisions for the use of the English army during the Lent season. The French King, Charles, was much disheartened at the success of the English in this action, and at the dangerous situation of the city of Orleans, the loss of which he imagined would be the
total

total ruin of his affairs. He sent therefore to the Duke of Bedford at Paris, to propose that the city might be deposited in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, until the war should be finished. But the Regent replied, that he was not of a humour to beat the bushes; while others ran away with the game. This answer is said so much to have disgusted the Duke of Burgundy, that he recalled all the Burgundians who acted in conjunction with the English in the siege of Orleans. That city, however, was every day more and more closely invested by the English, and the French King began to entertain a very melancholy prospect with regard to the general state of his affairs, when they began to assume a very different appearance, in consequence of one of the most singular occurrences which is to be met with in history: and of which we shall give the more particular account, because it had a great effect upon the English affairs in France in general, and did also affect the fortunes of Lord Talbot in particular.

In a village on the borders of Lorrain, there lived a country girl of twenty-seven years of age, called JOAN OF ARC. In her younger years, she helped to attend her father's little farm; and her dispositions, during this employment, it is said, appeared so military to the old man, that he was under perpetual apprehensions lest Joan should follow the camp in a dishonourable manner. In short, her masculine cast of mind had drawn on her so many reproofs from her father, that she made an elopement, and hired herself as a servant to an inn-keeper; and in this situation, she used to tend the horses of the guests, to ride them without a saddle to the watering-place, and to perform other offices of that kind. In this station she served five years, and then returned to her father, with whom she had now lived four years more. The present condition of France, was such as must have excited the attention, and been the frequent subject of conversation, even to persons of the lowest rank. Joan, therefore, we are told, though distant from the scene of her country's distress, melted at its calamities; and figuring in her own mind Charles as the most deserving of Princes, unjustly deprived of the possession of his Throne by the arms of foreign invaders, was seized with a violent desire of bringing relief to her Sovereign in his present unhappy situation. She even fancied that she saw visions, and heard voices, exhorting her to re-establish the Throne of France, and to expel the invaders; and being thoroughly persuaded that she had a divine commission, she hinted the matter to her father; but being able to produce no other proof of it but her bare word, the old man was going to confine her; when she made her escape to Vaucouleurs, procured admission to Baudricourt, the Governor, and informing him of her inspirations and designs, she conjured him not to neglect the voice of God, who spoke through her. The Governor at first treated her with neglect, but he was at length

length prevailed upon to send her to Charles, whose Court was then at Chinon. But he first, at her desire, furnished her with a suit of man's cloaths, an horse, furniture, and arms. It is pretended, that Joan, immediately on her admission to the French King, knew him, though she had never seen him before, in spite of a disguise he had assumed to deceive her; that she offered him, in the name of God, to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims, to be there crowned and anointed; and on his expressing some doubts of her mission, explained to him certain secrets, which, it was said, could not possibly be known but by Divine Revelation; and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Catharine de Firebois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long been laid and neglected. It is at least certain, that these stories were industriously spread about; and preposessed the people so much in Joan's favour, that the people of France in general seem to have believed, that she was expressly sent of God for the salvation of the kingdom. And an assembly of doctors of theology being ordered to examine her, declared that her vocation was altogether miraculous; which opinion, after the like enquiry, was likewise espoused by the Parliament of Poitiers.

The divinity of Joan's mission being thus, it was supposed, sufficiently authenticated, she was at length armed cap-a-pie, mounted on horseback, and shewn in that manner before the people, who testified their joy at her appearance by the loudest acclamations. During these transactions, the siege of Orleans was vigorously prosecuted by the English, and the besieged continued to make a stout resistance; but provisions falling short with the garrison, Charles resolved to supply them, and to make that service Joan's first military essay. She was accordingly sent to Blois, where a large convoy was prepared, and ten thousand men assembled to escort it. She directed all the soldiers to confess themselves before they set out, banished from the camp all women of bad fame, and displayed in her hands a consecrated banner. She at first insisted, in right of her prophetic mission, that the convoy should enter Orleans by the direct road from the side of Beaufle; but the Bastard of Orleans, unwilling to submit his military skill to her inspirations, prevailed upon her to consent that it should approach by the other side of the river, where he knew the weakest part of the English army was stationed. But previous to this attempt Joan had written a letter addressed to the King of England, the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Talbot, and Lord Scates, commanding them, in the name of God, by whom she said she was commissioned, immediately to raise the siege of Orleans, and to evacuate France, and threatening them with divine vengeance in case of their disobedience. The English
Generals

Generals treated the commission and message of Joan with contempt. But as the convoy approached the river, a sally was made by the garrison on the side of Beausse, to prevent the Earl of Suffolk from sending any detachment to the other side. The provisions were peaceably embarked in boats, sent by the inhabitants of Orleans to receive them : Joan with the troops covered the embarkation, without the English venturing to attack her ; and the French General carried back the army in safety to Blois. Joan entered Orleans, displaying her consecrated banner, and was received by the inhabitants as a celestial deliverer. They now believed themselves invincible under her sacred influence ; and it was agreed that another convoy, which was soon expected, should enter by the side of Beausse. When the convoy approached, no sign of resistance appeared among those troops, which were formerly so eager for the attack ; but the waggons and troops were suffered to pass without interruption between the redoubts of the English.

It is evident, that a general infatuation had taken possession of the English ; and at which we shall be somewhat the less amazed, if we consider the prevailing ignorance and superstition of the times. The English, indeed, did not, like the French, consider Joan as commissioned from Heaven, but they considered her as the instrument of the Devil. Soon after Joan, altogether uninfluenced by the natural timidity of her sex, attacked the fort of St. Loup, which was one of those raised by the English for the blockade of the place ; and after a furious dispute of four hours, it was carried by the French, four hundred of the English being killed in the assault. In two days after, she attacked the fort of St. John, which was soon taken, little resistance being made by the English, who had well nigh abandoned it before her approach. She took also the fort of London, after an obstinate engagement ; and afterwards attacked the fort of Tournelles, in which action the French were repulsed four times, and Joan herself was wounded ; but the fort was at length taken, and six hundred English fell by the sword.

The loss of so many forts, and the dejection of the soldiers, produced an universal consternation among the English. They had been long accustomed to face the French with the utmost intrepidity, when greatly inferior in point of numbers ; but they considered themselves as no match for the Devil ; and that Joan of Arc was supported and assisted by him, they seem to have entertained the most firm and absolute persuasion. In short, the Earl of Suffolk raised the siege, after having lain seven months before the place, and retreated with all the precautions imaginable. The Earl afterwards retired with a detachment of his army to Jargeau, where he was besieged by the French, attended by Joan of Arc, who was now called the Maid of Orleans. The siege lasted ten days, and the place was obsti-

nately defended ; but the French at length made themselves masters of it, and the Earl of Suffolk was taken prisoner.

Lord Talbot, after the siege of Orleans was raised, had retired to Meun, which he fortified, and then seized another town in the neighbourhood, and threw a reinforcement into Baugenci. And on the disaster of Suffolk, he succeeded to the command of the remainder of the English troops. It was immediately resolved, in the French councils, to fall down the Loire, and attack Meun and Baugenci. Accordingly they took Meun by assault, and then laid siege to the town of Baugenci. Lord Talbot, together with Lord Scales and Sir John Fastolf, took the field, with a view of raising the siege of this place ; but finding that to be impracticable, they marched to surprize the French troops which had been left at Meun. The capitulation of Baugenci was, therefore, no sooner signed, than the French, being informed of the designs of the English, marched back towards Meun ; upon which the English troops drew off towards Jenville, where they joined a body of five or six thousand of their countrymen, who had been sent by the Duke of Bedford to support them. The French army, which was commanded by the Duke of Alencon, and was greatly superior in numbers to the English, came up to them at the village of Patay ; and in so sudden a manner, that they had scarce time to form themselves. And so strongly had the English troops imbibed the notion, that the French were aided by a supernatural power, that all the efforts of Lord Talbot were insufficient to make them sustain the attack of the enemy. The greater part of them fled, after making very little resistance ; and even Sir John Fastolf, an officer who had always hitherto been distinguished for his courage, was so much affected with the epidemical panic, that he was amongst the first of the fugitives. Lord Talbot, however, did all that became a brave man, and an able General. He earnestly strove, but in vain, to raise the courage of his desponding troops. His enemies were astonished at his valour ; for in conjunction with the Lords Scales and Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Rempston, he sustained almost the whole fury of the French attack. All, however, that he could do, by the exertion of the most desperate courage, was only the suspension, for a short time, of the general rout of the army ; which was at last completed by the French with great slaughter. It is said, that two thousand English lay dead on the field of battle. And Lord Talbot, who was wounded in the neck, was taken prisoner, together with some other officers of distinction. In which state of captivity, we must for the present leave our brave General, in order to take a short view of some transactions which happened after the defeat of the English army.

In consequence of that disaster, the French made themselves masters of Jenville, a strong place in the neighbourhood of Patay, garrisoned with English troops. And all the places about Orleans

Orleans were also deserted by the English, who retired towards Paris. The raising the siege of Orleans, was one part of Joan of Arc's promise to Charles; the crowning him at Rheims was the other. And accordingly, after these successes, she vehemently insisted, that he should immediately set out upon that enterprize. Charles, therefore, at the head of ten thousand men, began his march for Rheims; and in his route, received the submissions of Troyes and Chalons. The inhabitants of Rheims expelled the English garrison, and sent deputies with their keys to Charles, who entered the city in triumph, and was consecrated with great solemnity. When this ceremony was over, the Maid of Orleans threw herself at the King's feet, embraced his knees, and with a flood of tears congratulated him on this singular and marvellous event; she then desired permission to retire, alledging, that she had now accomplished the end of her calling; but Charles pressed her so earnestly to stay, that she at length complied with his request.

However, the Duke of Bedford, in this dangerous crisis, renewed an alliance with the Duke of Burgundy: and shortly after the young King Henry was carried over, and crowned and acknowledged King of France in Paris. Before this transaction, the Maid of Orleans had been taken prisoner, and was afterwards burned alive as a witch in the market-place of Rouen. An action, which, though it might be agreeable to maxims of policy, on account of the light in which she had been considered, was certainly totally indefensible, on every principle of justice or humanity.

Lord Talbot had now sustained a tedious captivity, having been upwards of three years and an half in the hands of the French. The English could very ill spare at this time a commander of his courage and abilities; but the French were extremely unwilling to part with him. The Duke of Bedford, however, at length found means to have him exchanged, on the 12th of February, 1433, for Xaintrilles, a French officer of great reputation. Lord Talbot, being thus released, returned to England; but soon after resumed his command in France. In 1434, he took the castle of Joigny, which lay between Beauvois and Gisors, and razed it to the ground. And soon after set out from Paris, with the Marechal De l'Isle Adam, at the head of about three thousand troops, to besiege Beaumont upon the Oyse. The garrison, who were terrified at the name of Talbot, deserted the place, and threw themselves into Creil; upon which Lord Talbot, having demolished the fortifications of Beaumont, immediately laid siege to Creil; and the Governor being killed, the garrison capitulated. Pont St. Maxeme, Neuville, and Rouge Maison, made no resistance, but opened their gates to him. Crespi in Valois, and Clermont, made a short resistance, but were obliged to submit. Lord Talbot is charged with having treated the garrisons of some of these places

places with an impolitic severity ; and perhaps his long captivity might have contributed to increase his animosity against the enemy.

In August, 1435, the congress of Arras was opened ; in which the Ambassadors of Charles offered, in his name, to the King of England, Normandy and Guienne, (of which he was already in possession) provided he would quit the title of King of France, and do homage for those two provinces. These overtures were rejected with indignation by the English Ambassadors, who immediately withdrew from the congress. But the Duke of Burgundy concluded a treaty with Charles, which was greatly prejudicial to the English interests in France. And the English sustained soon after an irreparable loss, by the death of the Duke of Bedford at Rouen, on the 14th of September, 1435. This Prince had acquired universal esteem by his great courage and abilities, and by the moderation and equity of his administration ; and his death, at this juncture, was the most fatal stroke which the English interests in France could possibly have received (s).

Whilst the conferences were held at Arras, Lord Talbot, together with the Marschal de l'Isle Adam, and Lord Willoughby, besieged the town of St. Dennis. This place, which had been some time before taken by the Bastard of Orleans, now called the Count of Dunois, did in a manner command the gates of Paris, and was of great importance ; and the acquisition of it by the French, was considered by the English as much owing to the connivance and treachery of the Duke of Burgundy. Lord Talbot attacked it with so much vigour, that, after many desperate assaults, the Governor agreed to capitulate, if the place was not relieved in three weeks time. And this agreement the Governor intimated to the Count de Dunois, who was then upon the frontiers of Normandy, endeavouring to raise men ; and also to the Constable of France. But these Generals thought their best course would be, to attack some places of importance which were in the hands of the English ; which would either oblige Lord Talbot to raise the siege of St. Dennis, in order to relieve the places which should be attacked ; or otherwise those places must fall into the hands of the French at an

(s) The Duke of Bedford was buried in Notre Dame church at Rouen, under a tomb of black marble. " Nothing (says Rapin) better shews the esteem the world ought to have of this illustrious Prince, than the regard Lewis XI. son of Charles VII. expressed for him, at a time when he could have no inducement to flatter him. Lewis being one day in the church of Rouen, and

looking upon the Duke of Bedford's tomb, a certain Lord of his retinue advised him to demolish that standing monument of the dishonour of the French. " No, (replied the King) let the ashes of a Prince rest in peace ; who, were he alive, would make the boldest of us tremble. I rather wish they had erected a more stately monument to his honour."

an easy rate. Lord Talbot, however, persisted in his first purpose of reducing St. Dennis; and therefore the French made themselves masters of Meulan; and then Dunois marched, with all the troops he could collect together, to fight the English before St. Dennis. However, when he approached them, he did not think it prudent to attack them; upon which the Governor surrendered the town upon the terms he had agreed on. But when Lord Talbot came to take possession of it, he found it little better than an heap of ruins, with so much fury had he battered it. He, therefore, thought proper to demolish all the fortifications, excepting those of the abbey, and one tower (†).

Soon

(†) Some time before this, the Earl of Arundel, who had been employed in the siege of Rue in Picardy, was defeated and made prisoner, and afterwards died of a wound which he received in the action. Of this affair Mr. Hume gives the following account. "This period (says he) was also signalized by the death of the Earl of Arundel, a great English General, who, though he commanded three thousand men, was killed by Xaintrailles at the head of six hundred, and soon after expired of the wounds which he received in the action." *Hist. of Eng.* Vol. III. P. 170. Now, we appeal to the reader, whether any man would not suppose, after reading Mr. Hume's very short account of this affair, that in this action six hundred French had defeated three thousand English? and whether it does not appear, that it was the intention of the historian to be so understood? If, however, the reader should form a notion that the English were really defeated in such a dishonourable manner, he would form a very erroneous one. For if the Earl of Arundel had under his command three thousand troops, agreeable to Mr. Hume; it is evident, from other writers, that not one quarter of that number were present in this engagement. That we may not, however, be thought to charge Mr. Hume with misrepresentation, without foundation, we will lay before the reader the mere fair and just account, as we apprehend, of this transaction, by another historian. "When the Earl of Arundel

(says Mr. Guthrie) had advanced as far as Gournay, he was informed that the French were repairing the castle of Gerberoy, near Beauvois, and that it might be of great detriment to the English. As the French had not been long upon the place, the Earl imagined that the fortifications were yet imperfect, and that he would meet with but a feeble resistance. He therefore ordered a draught to be made of five hundred horse, and, with some artillery, he marched up to the walls. He was not deceived with regard to the situation of the place, which was, as yet, little better than open; but he was ignorant that La Hire, with three thousand troops, had thrown himself into it. He had advanced too far from the small body of foot which he left behind him to think of retreating, when he found himself attacked by this superior number. His resistance, however, was very gallant: Sir Ralph Standish, with about a hundred horse, were cut in pieces at the first onset; and three culverins, which La Hire had brought to the field, did such execution, that, of the Earl's five hundred horse, two hundred were killed, and one hundred and fifty taken prisoners. As to the Earl himself, he was wounded by a ball in the leg, which, splintering the bone, put an end to his life, a few days after, at Beauvois. The loss of him was a prodigious misfortune to the English; but was in some measure supplied by the services of the gallant Lord Talbot." *Guthrie's Hist. of Eng.* Vol. II. P. 557.

Soon after the arrival of the Duke of York, who was appointed to succeed the Duke of Bedford in France, the town of Gisors in Normandy was surprized by the French, who corresponded with some of the inhabitants; but the garrison and castle making a stout defence, Lord Talbot and Lord Scales drew a detachment out of Rouen, marched to Gisors, raised the siege of the castle, and recovered the town.

The beginning of the year 1437, the weather was so extremely cold, that the generals on both sides could not undertake any regular operation in the field. Nevertheless, the indefatigable Lord Talbot found means to turn the uncommon severity of the season to advantage. He collected a body of troops, and putting white cloths, or shirts, over their other clothes, marched with them all night, and brought them up to the very walls of Pontoise, unperceived by the garrison, who did not distinguish them from the snow with which the ground was covered. They then clapped their scaling ladders to the walls, mounted them, and seizing the chief gates, Lord Talbot made himself master of this important place. The garrison betook themselves to flight with the utmost precipitation; and the Mareschal l'Isle Adam, who commanded in it, and who had formerly served in conjunction with Talbot, but was now in the service of the French King, narrowly escaped being made prisoner. The taking of this place was a great blow to Charles, and greatly distressed the Parisians; who, in consequence of it, were exposed to the continual incursions which the English garrison made up to the very gates of Paris (*u*).

The town of Harfleur had been some time in the hands of the French; and was at this time provided with a good garrison, under an experienced officer. Lord Talbot, however, undertook the siege of it. He at first attempted to batter the walls, but they proving too solid for his engines to make a breach large enough for an attack, he converted the siege into a kind of blockade. As this place was of very great importance, the French King had given orders to the Count of Dunois, that he should, at all events, undertake to raise the siege. Accordingly that Commander, with four thousand men, went to view the English camp; but not thinking it prudent to attack it, he retired; upon which the Governor of Harfleur capitulated. Lord Talbot then, leaving a sufficient garrison in Harfleur, marched

(*u*) This year, 1437, died in England, Queen Catherine of Valois, widow of Henry V. After King Henry's death, she had married Owen Tudor, a Welch gentleman, by whom she had three sons, the eldest of which, Edmund, was afterwards Earl of Richmond. He married Margaret, the sole daughter and

heirefs of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, the grandson of John of Ghent; and the only son of their marriage was Henry, Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. King of England. It is remarkable, that Joan of Navarre, Dutcheſs dowager of Brittany, and widow to King Henry IV. died also this same year.

marched to Tankerville, which he took, and also Beauchan-stain, and Mateville.

The same year, the Duke of Burgundy besieged Crotoy, a strong place in Picardy, in the possession of the English. It was invested by a numerous land army, while the harbour was blocked up by four large French vessels. The gallant Lord Talbot, however, undertook the relief of the place, with a body of five thousand men, notwithstanding the great superiority of the Burgundian army, and though he was under a necessity of crossing the river Somme in the face of the enemy. The Duke of Burgundy's Generals, being apprized of Lord Talbot's approach, lined the banks of the Somme, and left a party of four hundred men in a large tower which they had built, with as many more as were sufficient for preventing any sally from the besieged. But the English were so much enraged at the Duke of Burgundy, on account of his deserting the English interest, that they were willing to encounter any danger, in order to gratify their revenge. When, therefore, they were come to the banks of the river, Lord Talbot, availing himself of this disposition in his troops, was the first man who rushed into the stream, sword in hand; and being immediately followed by his men, their fury struck the Burgundians so strongly, that they durst not stand the charge, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, and the advantage of their situation; but betook themselves to flight with the utmost precipitation. Lord Talbot then advanced to the tower which they had erected, which he took by storm, and then entered Crotoy in great triumph, and afterwards destroyed the works of the besiegers.

It is said, that Lord Talbot, after the siege of Crotoy was raised, sent a message to the Duke of Burgundy, importing, that if he would save those places in Picardy, which belonged either to him or the French King, from devastation, he should come with his army into the open field, where he would wait for him, and would give him battle, if he dared to meet him. The Duke, however, did not think proper to accept Talbot's challenge; but took the route of Amiens, and did not halt till he arrived at Arras. Lord Talbot, therefore, laid waste the country, ravaging it for twenty days together with fire and sword, reduced five or six places in Picardy, and then returned to Rouen, covered with lawrels.

In 1438, Lord Talbot made himself master of the town of Longueville, in Normandy, and also of Carles, Manille, and several other places. But this year a terrible famine, which ravaged at the same time both France and England, and was followed by a plague, prevented the Generals on either side from forming any other enterprize of consequence. But in 1439, the Constable Richemont, having collected a considerable body of troops, laid siege to the city of Meaux, which had been in the hands of the English seventeen years. The Governor,

who was an officer of great courage, made a very brave defence; however, after a three weeks siege, the Constable took the city by storm, and the Governor was made prisoner in the action. The garrison, nevertheless, took shelter in that part of the city which lay on the other side of the river, and which the French troops were not sufficiently numerous to invest when they sat down before the place. Here a new and more obstinate siege commenced; for the besieged having broken down the bridge of communication, prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity. The Constable then surrounded his camp with lines of circumvallation, fortified with redoubts, in order to hinder the enemy from relieving the place; and King Charles himself repaired to the siege, that the soldiers might be animated by his presence to exert themselves to the utmost. Our brave Talbot, however, hearing of the vigorous defence which was made by his countrymen, got together a body of troops, and determined to attempt the relief of the place. Accordingly, he put himself at the head of his men, and marched to the French camp, which he reconnoitred, and then attacked, carrying one of their redoubts by assault; and, after putting all who stood in his way to the sword, he threw four hundred men, with a supply of provisions, into the city. Next day Lord Talbot sallied out again, in the same manner, while the enemy were confounded at the boldness of the action, with an intention to throw in another more considerable supply; but before he could effect this, the besiegers having received very considerable reinforcements, the garrison capitulated.

The Constable Richemont afterwards formed the siege of Avranches, a city of the Lower Normandy, then in the hands of the English. He had carried on the siege for three weeks, when Lord Talbot, with the troops which he had designed for the relief of Meaux, attacked the French in their lines, supplied the place with provisions, and obliged the Constable, with great loss, to abandon his undertaking. About this time several negotiations for peace were set on foot between the two nations. But the proposals which came from France and England were so very different, that they could not come to any accommodation. But the divisions in the English councils, entirely prevented the Generals in France from receiving proper supplies; and, in consequence, rendered it impossible for them to carry on the war against the French with that vigour which the present situation of affairs required.

In 1440, King Charles made an attempt to recover Pontoise; which being still in the hands of the English, greatly annoyed the Parisians. The Duke of York had lately arrived from England, to re-assume the Regency of France; and as he had before been charged with inactivity, he was desirous of preventing any such imputation from being cast upon his character. He therefore put himself at the head of what forces he could

could collect together, and being joined by Lord Talbot, they advanced in order of battle to raise the siege. When they were arrived near enough to reconnoitre the French camp, they found it was impracticable to attack it, without passing the river Oyse. It was, however, determined to do this; indeed, it could not be expected that Lord Talbot, on his part, would make any hesitation about it; for the most daring exploits were what he had been long accustomed to. Accordingly, they performed this desperate service in sight of all the French army. But as Charles had made it an invariable maxim, never to fight the English, but when he had the most decisive advantages on his side, he immediately retreated, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers, leaving some of his artillery and heavy baggage, which were seized by the English, who entered Pontoise in triumph. The Duke of York then relieved the garrison, and left a thousand fresh men in the place. After which, he marched out, with Lord Talbot, and the rest of his troops; and they offered battle to the French King at Poissy, but finding they could not bring him to an action, they returned into winter-quarters at Rouen.

The following year King Charles, whose reputation had greatly suffered by his inglorious retreat from Pontoise, when he had such manifest advantages on his side, assembled a still greater army, and formed anew the siege of Pontoise. The garrison defended themselves with great courage; and Lord Talbot forcing one of the French quarters, introduced a convoy, which inspired them with fresh courage, so that the besiegers made but slow progress. And notwithstanding all the care and vigilance of the French, against so formidable a warrior as Talbot, he found means at three different times to succour the besieged.——We may here observe, that Lord Talbot seems to have been by no means punctilious, with respect to the nature of the service in which he was employed; it does not appear, that, like modern officers, he ever enquired whether any undertaking was suitable to his rank, or standing in the service. On the contrary, he seems to have been, at all times, equally ready to head an army or a detachment, if it would answer any important purpose to his country.

While the siege of Pontoise was carrying on, Lord Talbot made an attempt upon St. Dennis. He had conquered this place in 1435, but it was now in the hands of the French; and his particular view in attacking it at this time, was in hopes of dividing the French army. But Charles, persisting in his first purpose, and being attended by all the great officers and Princes of the blood in France, at length made himself master of Pontoise. And Lord Talbot, finding himself too weak to take St. Dennis, drew off. Indeed, the English at this time carried on the war in France with great disadvantages. The whole nation were in their hearts in the interest of Charles; and the divi-

sions at the Court of England, prevented the English Generals from receiving proper supplies; for the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester's party, which was the most prevalent in the Council, were entirely disposed to a peace with France; and the French Ministry frequently entered into negotiations of peace with the Court of England; by which, though they came to no accommodation, the English were always sufferers. And, in consequence of this situation of affairs, they were, by degrees, stripped of all their places of strength in the neighbourhood of Paris.

Indeed, all the reputation which the English arms in France yet retained, appears to have been almost wholly owing to the abilities, courage, and activity of Lord Talbot. It seemed, therefore, a kind of injustice, not to confer upon him some mark of honour, for his long and numerous services to his country. Accordingly, on the 20th of March, 1442, he was created Earl of Shrewsbury. And the same year he laid siege to the castle of Conches in Normandy. The Count of Dunois, who was often sent to act against Talbot, being the bravest officer in the French service, endeavoured to draw him off from his undertaking; but the Earl of Shrewsbury was not to be so amused. He obliged the garrison of Conches to surrender at discretion; and then marched with his army to give battle to Dunois. But the French General did not think proper to fight Talbot; he retreated, however, without any loss.

The Earl of Shrewsbury then advanced towards Dieppe, a seaport town of great importance in Normandy. He marched with such celerity, that Eilouteville, a French officer, though he made the utmost expedition, in order to throw a supply of troops into the town, could not arrive there time enough. Upon the Earl's coming before the place, he formed the siege, though with an army very unequal to such an undertaking, and especially at such a season of the year, for this was in the month of November. In fact, it seems that he did not expect to be master of the place during the winter, and without more force; but his design was to take the fort of Charles Mesnil, situated on Mount Polet, which hindered him from approaching the town; after which he hoped to block it up so closely, that it should be forced to surrender. Having thus concerted his measures, he attacked the fort sword in hand, and carried it. But the Count of Dunois had thrown himself into the town with nine hundred soldiers; and the garrison received other supplies, both of men and provisions, by sea. However, the Earl of Shrewsbury mounted his batteries, and play'd most furiously upon the walls of the town; but being in great want of ammunition, and a supply of men, he repaired himself to Rouen, in order to procure them, leaving his natural son, Henry Talbot, to carry on the siege. But in the mean time, in the absence of the Earl, the Dauphin marched into Normandy, with a considerable body

body of troops, in order to relieve Dieppe: accordingly he made himself master of the battery erected by the English, though not without a very obstinate defence on their part; and the English being then obliged to raise the siege, their troops were drawn off towards Rouen; but the Earl of Shrewsbury's natural son, who commanded, was taken prisoner. Trussel, an old English historian, intimates, that it was the want of ammunition by the English, which occasioned the Dauphin's success.

In the beginning of the year 1443, the Earl of Shrewsbury arrived in England, in order to represent the state of the war in France, and the necessity of sending in the spring a powerful supply, to prevent the entire loss of it to the enemy. But the situation of affairs at the English Court was very unfavourable to his designs. As to King Henry, who had now attained his twenty-first year, he discovered a very slender capacity, and was entirely governed by those who surrounded him. And the Court was still divided into two parties, that of the Duke of Gloucester, and the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester; though the influence of the latter preponderated: but the Duke about this time exhibited articles of high treason against the Cardinal, which his adherents, however, soon found means to quash. But notwithstanding these divisions, the character and high reputation of the Earl of Shrewsbury, together with the strength of his representations, made so much impression, that Sir William Woodville was ordered to carry over a large supply of provisions, under a convoy of eight hundred men, to Guienne, where the danger appeared to be the most imminent. The Government likewise gave public notice, that all provisions thus carried over, should be duty-free; by which a great number of adventurers were found. And the Earl of Shrewsbury himself obtained a reinforcement of three thousand men, with whom he went over into France. He had at first particular orders to support a confederacy, which was formed by the Earls of Armagnac and Foix against King Charles; but that Monarch had taken his measures so well, and assembled so numerous an army, under the command of the Dauphin, at Thoulouse, that the Earl of Shrewsbury was unable to act with effect against him. For the divisions which still continued in the English Council, rendered the Earl's supplies very precarious, and sometimes his orders inconsistent; besides which, the Court of France continued to amuse that of England with negotiations of peace. Accordingly on the 9th of September, this year, full powers were granted by King Henry to the Duke of York, Lord-Lieutenant of France, the Cardinal of Luxemburg, the Earl of Shrewsbury, with the Lords Fauconbridge and Scales, and other Plenipotentiaries, for treating with France concerning a final peace.—We may reasonably suppose, from the character of the Earl of Shrewsbury, that it would have been much more agreeable to him, to have been enabled to act with vigour
against

against the enemy, than to have been employed, at this time, in negotiating a treaty of peace. However, it appears that the negotiation came to nothing.

In 1444, another negotiation for peace was set on foot. "It was agreed (says Rapin) that the negotiation should be at Tours, where King Charles resided; though it should seem by that, as if the English were to come and sue for it. At any other time, the bare proposing to treat at Tours, would have been enough to spoil all. But Henry's Council stood not so much upon punctilio's (*co*). They were for having a truce at any rate, and nothing appeared dishonourable to attain that end." The Earl of Suffolk, who had always closely adhered to Cardinal Beaufort, was empowered to treat with the French Ministers. It was intended to adjust the terms of a lasting peace; but this being found impracticable, a truce for twenty-two months was concluded, which left every thing on the present footing between the two nations. Indeed, in consequence of the neglect which the Ministry had shewn, for the prosecution of the war in France, the English had been stripped, by degrees, of almost all their conquests in that kingdom. "And though (as Dr. Campbell observes) the nation was sensible of the mighty expence which attended the keeping them, yet they saw with grief the loss of cities and provinces, purchased with the blood of their ancestors." Besides this truce, the Earl of Suffolk concluded a treaty of marriage between the young King Henry, and a French Princess, named Margaret, daughter of the Duke of Anjou. The King of England, accordingly, married her by proxy, on the 28th of October, 1444; though this marriage very much disgusted the nation, and was indeed attended with very bad consequences. The truce with France was afterwards prolonged to the 1st of January, 1448.

As a time of peace was the least calculated for the exercise of the Earl of Shrewsbury's talents, we find little mention of him during the continuance of the truce with France. It appears, indeed, that during this period, he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, created Earl of Waterford, and constituted hereditary Steward of that kingdom; and shortly after his son, Sir John Talbot, was appointed Chancellor of the same.

The weakness of the English Government, encouraged the French King to renew the war with the English in France. Accordingly,

(*co*) We have had a more recent instance of the English Ministers not being very punctilious in a matter of this kind. We cannot but remember, though we wish we could forget it, that at no very remote period, a treaty of peace was concluded be-

tween England and France, at one of the French King's country palaces. At a time too, when by a series of the most unparalleled successes, the English arms had been victorious in every quarter of the globe!

cordingly, in 1449, Normandy was at once invaded by four powerful armies; one commanded by King Charles himself, a second by the Duke of Brittany, a third by the Duke of Alençon, and a fourth by the Count of Dunbuis. The towns were so ill prepared for defence, that they opened their gates almost as soon as the French appeared before them. Gisors, Mante, Vernon, Argentan, Lisieux, and several other places, fell immediately into the hands of the enemy. The Duke of Somerset, Governor of Normandy, was so far from having an army able to take the field, or to relieve those places, that he was unable to supply them with garrisons or provisions.

It appears that the brave Earl of Shrewsbury was now in France. Accordingly he attempted to interrupt the siege of Verneuil, with the few troops he could collect; but the Count of Dunois getting between him and the besiegers, he found it impracticable, and therefore was obliged to retire to Rouen, where he advised the Duke of Somerset to make his principal stand. But King Charles, at the head of a formidable army, sixty thousand strong, presented himself before the gates of that city. Charles confided very much in the attachment, which he believed great numbers of the inhabitants had for him; and that confidence appears to have been well founded. When he had been three days before the place, he received information, that if an attack was made upon the tower of St. Hillary, a post guarded by the citizens, the latter would introduce his troops; and it was afterwards intimated to the Count of Dunois, that he must provide a good number of ladders for the troops which were to mount the wall of the tower that was to be delivered. Every thing being ready, Dunois made a false attack towards the gates Beavoisine and le Montfortin, while he ordered a considerable body of choice troops to take a large compass behind a rising ground towards the gate of St. Hillary. This disposition would probably have produced the desired effect, had it not been for the vigilance and activity of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Our brave General watched so narrowly the motions of the enemy, that he suspected that the attack which had been made, was but a feint to draw his attention to the wrong quarter; he, therefore, kept so vigilant an eye on all the other posts, that he soon found reason to believe something more than ordinary was transacting at St. Hillary. He immediately ran up to it with a party of three hundred men, and found that fifty of the French had already mounted the walls, and were joined by the inhabitants who were intrusted with that post. Shrewsbury attacked them instantly with such fury, that of all the inhabitants, and French assailants, only two escaped being put to the sword, and they by leaping into the ditch.

But though this scheme of the French was thus defeated, the English Generals and garrison were still in a very disagreeable situation, on account of the disaffection of the inhabitants of the

the inhabitants of the city. The people of Rouen exclaimed violently against the Earl of Shrewsbury, on account of his having put so many of their fellow-citizens to death; though it does not appear that he had done any thing contrary to the rules of war, or which indeed could have been avoided, in the then situation of affairs. However, the citizens at length became quite mutinous, and called loudly to have the place delivered up. Great numbers of them assembled in a body, and prevailed upon the Archbishop of Rouen to go at their head, and declare their sentiments to the Duke of Somerset. Accordingly they set out, and happened to meet the Duke in the streets, attended by about fifty of his guards. The Archbishop immediately opened to him the purport of his commission, which at first put Somerset into a violent rage; and accordingly he was going to order his guards to seize upon the mutineers. But when he perceived that they were not fewer than eight hundred, and those of the principal inhabitants of the city, all well armed, and appearing resolute, prudence dictated to him to repress his indignation; and therefore he agreed to give them a meeting in the town-house, and discourse the matter with them. However, he found the inhabitants more universally mutinous than he at first imagined; for when he came to the place of meeting, he found all the burghers drawn out under arms, with an intention of opposing any attempt of the English to the prejudice of their fellow-citizens.

If we consider how matters were situated at Rouen, we shall be so far from wondering that the English should think of surrendering the place, that we shall rather be amazed that they should make any hesitation about it. For it appears that the Duke of Somerset had not above twelve hundred men under his command; the citizens were mutinous, and in arms; and the French King at the head of a very numerous army at the gates of the city. Somerset, therefore, was obliged to consent to the citizens sending a deputation to, Charles; but it was agreed that the deputies should treat in his name. Accordingly the Archbishop of Rouen, with some of the chief citizens, in the name of the city, to whom the Duke of Somerset added some English gentlemen, went out to treat with the deputies of the French King. And a capitulation was agreed upon between the deputies of the city, and those of Charles, which would have been signed that very night, had not the deputies acting in the name of the Duke of Somerset refused to agree to the same. It was, therefore, necessary to have it ratified by the Duke; but when it came to be laid before him and the Earl of Shrewsbury, they were so far from agreeing to it, that they immediately seized the bridge, and filled all the posts of strength about the city with their soldiers. Upon this, the citizens took arms likewise, and a severe encounter ensued, in which the English were driven from all their posts, excepting the old castle, the palace,

palace, and the bridge. In the mean time, the inhabitants delivered the keys of the city to the Count of Dunois, who introduced a body of troops, in order to attack the posts still held by the English. These were invested on all sides, and King Charles was about to give orders for a general assault, when the Duke of Somerset demanded to treat with him in person about a capitulation. The Duke accordingly offered some terms to Charles, which were rejected by him; and he, on the other hand, insisted on terms which were rejected by Somerset. Upon which hostilities were again commenced; however, the Duke was at length obliged to surrender Rouen, and to agree to deliver up Honfleur, Tankerville, and some other places in Normandy, and to pay fifty-six thousand crowns, and to give hostages for the performance of the articles, among whom was the Earl of Shrewsbury. The Governor of Honfleur, however, refused to obey his orders, upon which Shrewsbury was detained prisoner; and "the English (says Mr. Hume) were thus deprived of the only General, capable of recovering them from their present distressed situation."

Our brave General was thus once more in the hands of his enemies. He did not, however, remain long in this situation; for the French having made themselves masters of Caen, laid siege to Falaise; and as this town had been under the command of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the garrison made it one of the articles on which they agreed to surrender the place, that the French should deliver up that Nobleman. This being agreed to, and Falaise surrendered, our brave general was again set at liberty. The English, however, were soon after completely stripped of the small remainder of their conquests in France; which was greatly owing, as well as their former losses, to the divisions in the English Councils, and to the negligence of those to whom the management of the national business was intrusted.

In 1452, several Gascon Lords, who were well affected to the English Government, and disgusted with the new dominion of the French, came to London, and offered to return to their allegiance under King Henry. And the scheme of their revolt from the French King, being laid before the Council, was approved; and accordingly the Earl of Shrewsbury, on the 2d of September, received a commission to be Governor of all Guienne, with very full powers. He set out, therefore, at the head of five thousand men, with whom he landed at Medoc in the October following. He made himself master of several places, and then marched immediately to Bourdeaux. And on the 23d of October, that city surrendered to him, the French Governor and garrison being made prisoners of war. Shortly after the taking of Bourdeaux, the Earl of Shrewsbury's son, Lord Lisle, arrived in France with a reinforcement of upwards of two thousand men; so that the number of the Earl's troops now

amounted to seven thousand, besides Gascons. He then made himself master of Chastillon and Fronsac, which he garrisoned and fortified ; and many other places surrendered to him, particularly Cadillac, and Liburn.

The Earl of Shrewsbury retained possession of his conquests for some time, and continued to extend them. But in the year 1453, a numerous French army was assembled to oppose his progress. And a part of these troops having taken Chalais, they formed, on the 15th of July, under the command of Marechal de Loheac, the siege of Chastillon. When the Earl of Shrewsbury understood this, he put himself at the head of a thousand horse, and went to reconnoitre the enemy, ordering five thousand foot to follow him. The French Generals were too well acquainted with the military talents and intrepidity of Talbot, to venture to fight him without vast advantages on their own side. Instead, therefore, of besieging Chastillon, they formed a strong camp, consisting of fifteen thousand men, which they fortified with redoubts, entrenchments, and lines, and a very great train of well-disposed artillery. When the Earl of Shrewsbury arrived within sight of the camp, he attacked an abbey which had been fortified by the French, and which was defended by Gammaches, one of their best officers, whom the Earl beat from it with great loss. However, he was still sensible of the danger of attacking the French in their present situation without more troops ; and, therefore, sent to Bourdeaux for a reinforcement. But the inhabitants declined sending any ; alledging, that it would be very unsafe to leave their city without a very strong garrison.

The Earl soon after received information from Chastillon, that, by the motion within the French camp, it appeared as if their design was to abandon it. Upon this, without further hesitation, he put himself at the head of those troops he had, and, with the utmost ardour, led them on to the attack of the camp itself, notwithstanding the advantageous situation of the enemy, and their superior numbers. The French, in the mean time, had drawn out, without their intrenchments, about four thousand men, the Commander of which made some shew as if he would oppose the English in their march to the intrenchments. But the Earl of Shrewsbury attacked them so furiously, that the French Commander was driven within the barriers of the intrenchments ; while the eager pursuit of the English brought them within the whole fire of their enemies. The gallant Talbot then saw the danger of his situation ; however, he made a most dreadful effort upon the barriers, amidst all the thunder of the French artillery, and even broke into their intrenchments ; though the French Commanders continued to pour in fresh troops to the assistance of their wearied men. In short, the fortune of the day seemed ready to declare for the English, when a large body of Bretons, who had
never

never yet been engaged, all of them cavalry, passing their own intrenchments on the opposite side, wheeled round and fell upon the rear of the English, just time enough to prevent the total rout of the French army. The gallant Shrewsbury was then engaged in the hottest of the battle; and his son, the young Lord Lisle, was fighting by his side, learning from his father the paths to glory. But the Earl now saw that the total defeat of the English was inevitable; he found himself hemmed in on every side, while the French, having new-pointed their artillery, plied him with greater fury than ever. In this desperate situation, he advised his son to save himself by flight, saying to him, "As to my own death, that in respect of my former exploits, cannot but be honourable; and in respect of thy youth, it can neither be honourable for thee to die, nor dishonourable to fly." But the generous youth, who inherited the spirit and the heroism of his father, declared that he would share his fate. And after performing acts of the most desperate valour, the son was, at last, killed by his father's side; while the brave Earl himself, after losing his horse by a cannon ball, was run through the neck with an archer's bayonet, which put a period to his life.

Thus fell, on the 20th of July, 1453, the venerable and illustrious warrior, John, Earl of Shrewsbury; who, for a long course of years, by his undaunted courage, and superior military talents, acquired the most distinguished reputation to himself, and to his country. It has been observed of him, that he was victorious in forty different battles and dangerous skirmishes. "General Talbot (says Father Daniel) was one of the greatest warriors of his time, and the most able Captain the English then had, who called him their *ACHILLES*. He had carried on the war in France with a great deal of glory almost all his life long, and died at the age of eighty years, with his sword in his hand."

After the death of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the rout of the English army was completed; Chastillon surrendered to the French the next day; and Charles recovered possession of Bourdeaux, and all Guienne. The Earl's body was brought over to England, and buried at Whitchurch in Shropshire, where a noble monument was erected for him on the south wall of the chancel. In his epitaph he was styled, "Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Talbot, Lord Furnival, Lord Verdon, Lord Strange of Blackmore, and Marshal of France." But an old English historian, who has affirmed, though as it appears erroneously, that he was buried at Roen in Normandy, has given the following enumeration of his titles: "John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Wexford, Waterford, and Valence, Lord Talbot of Goodrich and Orchenfield, Lord Strange of Blackmore, Lord Verdon of Aston, Lord Cromwell of Wingfield, Lord Lovetoft of Worsop, Lord Furnival of Sheffield, Lord

“ Fauconbridge, Knight of the Noble Orders of St. George,
 “ St. Michael, and the Golden Fleece, Great Marshal to King
 “ Henry the Sixth of his realm of France.”

We have already taken notice of the Earl of Shrewsbury's marriage with Maud, daughter of Thomas Nevil, Lord Furnival. By her he had issue John, who succeeded him in his honours and estates; and also Sir Christopher and Sir Humphrey Talbot, Knights. But the Earl also married a second wife, named Margaret, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, by whom he had another son John, in right of his wife titled Viscount Lisle, who was slain with his father; Sir Humphrey Talbot; a daughter, named Elizabeth, married to John Mowbray, Earl of Norfolk; and another named Eleanor, married to Thomas, Lord of Sudley castle. He had also a natural son, whom we have before had occasion to mention, named Henry Talbot, who was killed, together with Lord Lisle and his father, near Chastillon.

Camden, in his *Remains concerning Britain*, says, that the Earl of Shrewsbury's sword was “ not long since found in the river
 “ of Dordon, and sold by a peasant to an armourer of Bour-
 “ deaux, with this inscription; but pardon (he adds) the La-
 “ tin, for it was not his, but his camping chaplain's.

“ SVM TALBOTI M. III. C. XLIII.

“ PRO VINCERE INIMICO MEO.”



The Life of RICHARD NEVIL, Earl of Warwick.

THE celebrated Nobleman whose life we are now entering upon, made so conspicuous a figure in the public transactions of his times, that it would be a kind of injustice to neglect him in a series of British Biography; though he has been, indeed, entirely omitted, as well as the subject of our preceding life, in some of the most considerable compilations of this kind.

RICHARD NEVIL, eldest son of Richard Nevil, Earl of Salisbury, was born in the beginning of the reign of King Henry the Sixth. He was very early distinguished for his valour and personal accomplishments. In 1448, he accompanied his father, the Earl of Salisbury; who, in conjunction with the Earl of Northumberland, entered into Scotland with a body of troops, and burnt the towns of Dunbar and Dumfries; and Lord Richard Nevil acquired much reputation for his bravery in this affair. He married Anne, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. That Nobleman, who died in 1439, was succeeded by his son Henry, afterwards created Duke of Warwick; but he dying also in 1445, and leaving only an infant daughter as his heiress, who died in January, 1449, in the fifth year of her age, Lord Richard Nevil, in right of his wife, succeeded to all the great estates of the Warwick family, and had also the title of Earl of Warwick confirmed to him by patent, July 23, 1449, with all the preheminiencies enjoyed by any of his wife's ancestors, before her brother Henry was created Duke of Warwick.

This was a very great accession of fortune, as well as of honour. For it appears that the annual income of the lands possessed by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in the twelfth year of King Henry VI. which all now devolved upon our Earl, amounted to no less than eight thousand six hundred and six marks, which Dugdale computes to have been equal to at least six times that sum in his time. And our Richard, Earl of Warwick, with Anne his Countess, in the twenty-eighth year of Henry VI. entailed the castle of Warwick, with a great number of fine Lordships, in that and sixteen other counties, upon the issue of their bodies, lawfully begotten. So that, on account of his great estates, family connections, and personal influence, the
Earl

Earl of Warwick was justly considered as one of the most powerful Noblemen in the kingdom.

But in order to understand the subsequent transactions in the Earl of Warwick's life, it will be necessary to take a view of the state of parties, and of the public affairs, in England, at this period. The Prince upon the Throne, King Henry VI. was remarkably harmless and inoffensive in his manners, but of a very weak understanding, and entirely governed by those who surrounded him. His Queen, Margaret of Anjou, was a woman of a bold and intriguing spirit, and who possessed abilities greatly superior to the generality of her sex. Almost immediately on her arrival in England, she had fallen into close connection with Cardinal Beaufort, and the Duke of Suffolk, and their party. We have in the two preceding lives had occasion to speak of the animosity between Cardinal Beaufort, and the Duke of Gloucester. The Duke of Gloucester had endeavoured to prevent the marriage of King Henry with Margaret; and was, therefore, the object of her aversion. And as the Cardinal's party were now strengthened by the influence of the Queen, they had determined to effect the ruin of Gloucester. Accordingly they accused him of treason, and caused him to be arrested, and put under a strong guard; soon after which he was found dead in his bed. It was pretended, that he died a natural death; but it was more generally supposed, that he had fallen a sacrifice to the malice of his enemies. As the Duke of Gloucester was extremely popular, his death excited universal clamours against the Cardinal and the Duke of Suffolk, who were considered as the authors of it; nor was the Queen free from a strong suspicion of being privy to it. The Cardinal, however, survived the Duke of Gloucester but six weeks; dying, as it is said, with all the horrors of a guilty conscience. But besides these things, the people were highly incensed at the bad conduct of the Ministry, and their negligence in whatever related to the national interests, and in consequence of which the English dominions in France were entirely lost. And the Duke of Suffolk, to whom Queen Margaret was very much attached, was particularly the object of the public aversion.

It was in this situation of affairs, under a weak Prince, and under the administration of an odious and unpopular Ministry, that Richard Plantagenet, the lineal heir to the Crown, on whom, we have before observed, the title of Duke of York had been conferred, first began to hint his pretensions to the Crown. He was a Prince of much courage and ability; and his cause was favoured by some of the principal Nobility, particularly the family of Nevil, to which he was allied, he having married the daughter of Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland, the grandfather of our Earl of Warwick. The family of Nevil was the most powerful and considerable at this time in England; for
besides

besides the Earls of Westmoreland, Salisbury (x), and Warwick, the Lords Latimer, Fauconbridge, and Abergavenny, were of this family. And besides these Noblemen, the Duke of York had also in his interest Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, and Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. Thus supported, the pretensions of the Duke of York were very formidable, though the Court at first did not seem sufficiently apprized of this; for the Duke conducted himself with great prudence and caution.

The Earl of Warwick was thus, by his family connections, early engaged in the York interest. "And the discontents, which universally prevailed among the people, (as Mr. Hume observes,) rendered every combination of the Great, the more dangerous to the established Government." In 1450, the public clamour against the Duke of Suffolk, who was considered as Prime-Minister, and chief favourite of the Queen, being very great, a charge of high treason was exhibited against him by the Commons; however, an expedient was found to save him from present ruin; for the King, by his own authority, banished him the kingdom for five years; but this only hastened his destruction; for he was intercepted by some employed by the opposite party, in his passage to France, seized near Dover, and his head struck off on the side of a boat. But the public discontent did not stop here; an insurrection was raised in Kent, by one John Cade, who assumed the name of John Mortimer, intending, it is supposed, to pass for a son of Sir John Mortimer, brother to the late Earl of Marche, who was illegally executed, without a trial, in the beginning of this reign. And though this rebellion was at length quelled, yet the numbers who joined Cade, sufficiently shewed how much the people were discontented with the present Government, and how well affected great numbers were to the Mortimer family (y). And, indeed, though the Duke of York had not openly countenanced this rebellion, it was yet strongly suspected, that he had secretly fomented

(x) The Earl of Salisbury, father to our Earl of Warwick, was the eldest son by a second marriage of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland. He acquired the title and estates of the Salisbury family, as his son did those of Warwick, by marriage, he having married the daughter and heiress of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who was killed at the siege of Orleans.

(y) Cade is said to have been a native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly into France for his crime. On his assuming the name of Mortimer, the common people of

Kent, to the number of twenty thousand, flocked to his standard. He excited their zeal, by publishing complaints against the Government, and demanding redress of the national grievances. Sir Humphrey Stafford, with a body of troops, was sent against him; but Stafford was defeated and slain in an action near Sevenoak; and Cade advancing with his followers towards London, encamped at Blackheath. Notwithstanding his victory, he still preserved the appearance of moderation. He sent a plausible list of grievances to the Court, and promised that when

fomented it, in order to try how the people were disposed towards his title and family.

The Duke, however, proceeded with the utmost prudence ; and avoided giving his enemies any handle for charging him with treasonable designs. But in 1452, observing the extreme dissatisfaction both of the Parliament and people at the Government, he raised an army of his adherents, to the number of ten thousand men, with whom he marched to London ; but declaring, at the same time, that he had no design in taking up arms, but to ease the people, who were miserably oppressed with excessive taxes, imposed upon them in consequence of the evil counsels given to the King, and to punish the authors of those counsels and oppressions. In short, he demanded a reformation of the Government, and that the Duke of Somerset, who was become the chief Minister, and favourite of the Queen, since the death of Suffolk, might be removed from his power and authority. However, on his arrival at London, he found the gates of the city shut against him ; he, therefore, retired into Kent, where he was followed by the King at the head of a superior army ; upon which a parley ensued.

It should seem, that the Court was not at this time sufficiently apprized of the attachment of our Earl of Warwick, and his father, the Earl of Salisbury, to the interests of the Duke of York. For these Noblemen now both attended King Henry's army ; and when a parley was agreed upon between the King and the Duke of York, they received a commission from Henry, in conjunction with the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, to discourse with the Duke of York, in order to know the reason of his taking arms, and upon what terms he would lay them down. The Duke assumed a great appearance of moderation ; and declared himself willing to lay down his arms, whenever the purpose for which he took them up was answered ; *that is*, the wicked Council with which the King was beset, removed.

It

these were redressed, and Lord Say, the Treasurer, and Cromer, high Sheriff of Kent, received the punishment due to their demerits, he would immediately lay down his arms. The King was carried for safety to Kenilworth, and the city of London opened their gates to Cade, who maintained at first great order and discipline among his followers. However, this was not long continued ; Lord Say was taken out of the Tower, and beheaded in Cheapside, and Cromer was taken out of the Fleet, and beheaded at Mile-end. They then began to plunder the houses of some of the most wealthy inhabitants of the city ; upon which

the citizens shut their gates against them, and being seconded by a detachment of soldiers, they repulsed the rebels with great slaughter. Great numbers of the citizens, however, lost their lives in this affair ; but the Kentishmen were so disheartened with their loss, that upon receiving the offer of a general pardon, if they would lay down their arms, they retreated towards Rochester, and then dispersed. However, as Cade himself, with some few followers, had still continued in arms, a price was set upon his head, and accordingly he was killed by a gentleman of Sussex.

removed. It was at length agreed, that the Duke of York should dismiss his army immediately; and that the Duke of Somerset should be put under arrest, till he should be brought before the justice of the ensuing Parliament. This was accordingly pretended to be done; and York was then prevailed upon to pay his respects to the King in his tent; and on repeating his charge against Somerset, he was surprized to see that Minister step from behind the curtain, and offer not only to vindicate his own innocence, but to charge him with treasonable practices and designs. The Duke of York now perceived that he was betrayed, and in the hands of his enemies; however, they did not think it prudent to attempt any violence against him; he retired, therefore, to his seat at Wigmore, on the borders of Wales. But he previously took an oath of allegiance to Henry, before a number of the Nobility, among whom were the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick.

It is said, that Warwick's attachment to the York interest, was increased by a quarrel which happened between him and the Duke of Somerset, and in which the Queen espoused the cause of the latter. However, the Duke of York's influence continued very much to increase; and in 1454, King Henry being afflicted with an illness, which rendered him unable to preserve even the appearance of royalty, the Duke of York was appointed Protector of the kingdom; before which he had procured Warwick's father, the Earl of Salisbury, who was a Nobleman of great ability, to be appointed Lord Chancellor of England; and soon after the Duke of Somerset was arrested, and sent to the Tower.

As to the Earl of Warwick, his influence and popularity every day increased; and that to such a degree, that it is said he was more universally beloved and esteemed, than any other man of that age. He was the richest Nobleman in England; and in the magnificence of his living, and his unbounded hospitality, he excelled all his contemporaries. Whether he resided in town, or in the country, he always kept open house. At his house in London, we are told, six oxen were generally eaten daily for breakfast. Every soldier might come into his kitchen, and take away whatever meat he could carry off upon the point of his dagger; which is not a stronger proof, it has been observed, of the hospitality of Warwick, than of the plain and simple manners of the age in which he lived. And it is even said by some writers, that no less than thirty thousand persons daily lived at his board, in the different manors and castles which he possessed in England. But he acquired popularity, not only by his magnificence and hospitality, but by the affability of his manners, and a certain frankness and openness of behaviour, which charmed all who saw him; and to these qualifications were added an excellent understanding, and a bold and intrepid spirit. A Nobleman of such a character, could not

but give great weight to whatever cause he should espouse; for, (as Mr. Gurnie observes) "without being in the Government, he seemed the dictator of the people; and, howsoever power was vested, authority remained with him and his father."

King Henry being so far recovered from his late distemper, as to be able once more to assume the appearance of royalty, he was pressed by Queen Margaret, and her party, to resume his authority, to annul the regency of the Duke of York, and to release the Duke of Somerset from his imprisonment in the Tower. Accordingly Somerset was set at liberty, and declared a faithful subject; and the Government of Calais, which had been given to the Duke of York, was now taken from him, and given to Somerset. In consequence of these proceedings, the Duke of York once more took up arms. Having concerted measures with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and the other Noblemen who were connected with him, he again retired into Wales, where he levied a numerous army, with which he advanced towards the King, who had assembled his forces, and marched out of London to give him battle, attended by the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, and many others of the Nobility. On the 22d of May, 1455, the royal army reached St. Alban's, while the Duke of York's army lay encamped at Hayfield. The Duke sent several messages to the King, representing the grievances and disgraces which the nation had suffered under the ministry of the Duke of Somerset. He added, that he and his adherents were resolved not to lay down their arms till he was delivered up to justice; in which case they were willing to dismiss their followers, and return to their several countries. But the King, who at this time assumed a spirit which was very unusual to him, answered the Duke of York's messengers, "That he would deliver up his Crown as soon as he would the Duke of Somerset, or the meanest soldier in his army; and that he would treat like a traitor every man who should presume to fight him in the field."

Both armies were at this time drawn out in order of battle, and the van-guard of the Yorkists was commanded by the Earl of Warwick. But when the Earl heard the King's message, he was so incensed at it, that, without waiting for the Duke of York's orders, he attacked the royal army with such irresistible fury, that it was speedily thrown into confusion. And York, advancing in the mean time, attacked them in flank with great courage and success; so that the King's army was totally defeated, with the loss, as it is said, of five thousand men. "This was the first blood (says Mr. Hume) spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than a course of thirty years, which was signalized by twelve pitched battles, which opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty, is computed to have cost the lives of eighty Princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient Nobility of England."

"England." The Duke of Somerset, and several other Noblemen of distinction, fell in this action; and the King himself (who seems not to have been deficient in personal courage, though from principles of conscience he was averse to fighting;) was wounded in the neck with an arrow, but was nevertheless the last to retire from the field, and then took refuge in an adjacent hut (a).

But notwithstanding the Duke of York's victory, he behaved with great moderation. When he was informed of the situation

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of

(a.) Mr. Hume, in introducing his account of the wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster, observes, that "the English were now to pay the severe, though late penalty, of their *turbulence* against Richard II. and of their *levity* in violating, without any necessity or just reason, the *lineal succession* of their Monarchs." If we could admit this ingenious historian's account of the reign of Richard II. to be a fair and impartial one, we might then acknowledge the justice of this reflection; but we believe that no man who will take the pains to compare Mr. Hume with other historians, can possibly think his account of that Prince's reign a just one. He has taken great pains to set the character both of Richard and his Ministers in the most favourable light, and has represented in the most disadvantageous manner the characters and actions of those who opposed him. In his account of the prosecution of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, he observes, (*biog. vol. iii. p. 17.*) that "nothing can prove more fully the innocence of Suffolk, than the frivoltousness of the articles objected against him." And, indeed, if the reader contents himself with this historian's account of these articles, he will be inclined to be of the same opinion. But it is a very observable circumstance, that Mr. Hume in his account of the charge against Suffolk, takes not the least notice of two of the most material articles of impeachment, the 3d and 7th, in which he is charged with misapplying the public money, raised and directed by the Parliament to be employed for the defence of the kingdom; and also with having occasioned the loss of the city of Ghent, by the misap-

plication of the money raised for the defence of it. To prove the truth of our assertion, we refer to the articles of impeachment themselves at large, and to all the historians. Mr. Hume also, speaking of the opinions which Richard and his Counsellors found means to obtain from the Judges at Nottingham, and for which those Judges have been, by the generality of our historians, deservedly branded with infamy, says, Richard "proposed to the Judges some queries, which these Lawyers, either from the influence of his authority, or of reason, made no scruple of answering in the way he desired;" and afterwards he adds, "there want not reasons of apology for the opinions of these Judges." It is, however, worthy of remark, that amongst the opinions given by these Judges at this time, it is declared, in answer to the King's eighth query, that "if any one should impeach in Parliament any of the King's Judges, or Officers, without his consent, he who should impeach them might be legally punished as a traitor;" and in answer to his sixth query, "that if any one should presume in Parliament to treat of other matters than those proposed by the King, and contrary to his pleasure, they might be punished as traitors." What reasons of apology can be given, for Judges who could give such opinions, we own ourselves utterly at a loss to determine. However, we believe no impartial man, who thinks resistance to Sovereigns in any cases lawful, will think it any just reproach upon our ancestors, or any indication of unreasonable turbulence or levity, that they opposed such tyranny as that of Richard II. and his Ministers.

of the King, he entered the place with great submission, and, with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick at his back, threw himself at Henry's feet, and declared, that as the enemy of the public was now dead, he and his associates were ready to obey him in all his lawful commands. The next day the victorious Lords attended the King to London; and some time after the Duke of York was appointed by the Parliament, Protector of the Realm, till such time as the Prince of Wales should be at years of discretion. And among other determinations which were made in Parliament, in order to confirm the present system of government, it was resolved, "That no person or persons should judge, or report, that the Duke of York, or the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, were guilty of rebellion or treason, in coming in a warlike manner against the King at St. Albans, since the action was necessary, and taken in hand to free the King from captivity, and bring peace and safety to the nation."

About this time the Earl of Warwick was made Governor of Calais. This seems to have been considered as the most considerable military post now under the English Government; it had been lately held by the Dukes of York and Somerset. He was also appointed High Admiral of England. And it appears that the Earl of Salisbury, in conjunction with his son the Earl of Warwick, had a grant of 9083*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *per annum*, out of the Customs. But towards the beginning of the year 1456, the Parliament being assembled, the King was prevailed upon, by Queen Margaret and some of his Ministers, to appear in it, and declare his intention of resuming the Administration of Government; at the same time he pronounced the Duke of York's commission as Protector to be vacated; to which the Parliament agreed, and the Duke soon after received a writ, notifying his suspension from the Protectorship.

The Duke, however, quietly acquiesced in this; and soon after the Queen's party contrived to remove the Court to Coventry, under the pretence of recovering the King's health, and of amusing him with rural diversions; and at this place the Duke of York, with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, were invited to attend the King's person. Accordingly they all set out for Coventry; but received certain information on the road, that their enemies had a design to arrest them on their arrival. Upon this they all immediately separated; the Duke of York withdrew to his castle of Wigmore, on the marches of Wales, the Earl of Salisbury to the castle of Middleham in Yorkshire, and the Earl of Warwick to his government of Calais (*b*).

As it was generally apprehended in the nation, that this rupture would be of very dangerous consequences, many persons of distinction,

(*b*) About this time the French made a descent on the coast of Kent, and landed eighteen hundred men about two miles from Sandwich, whither they had orders to march by land, while the Admiral attacked it by sea. The inhabitants of Sandwich defended themselves with great valour;

distinction, and in particular the Archbishop of Canterbury, exerted their endeavours to reconcile the contending parties. In consequence of which, it was agreed that the great leaders on both sides should meet in London, and be solemnly reconciled. Accordingly the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury arrived in London with numerous retinues; and the Earl of Warwick came over from Calais, with a splendid retinue of 12 hundred men, who were all cloathed in red coats, with white ragged staves embroidered before and behind, which was Warwick's badge (c). He took up his residence in Black Friars. The different parties came at length to several articles of agreement; it was agreed that there should be a general pardon for all who were concerned in the late disturbances, and that all animosities should be buried in oblivion; and, among other things, it was agreed, that the Duke of York, with the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, should settle forty pounds a year upon the abbey of St. Alban's, in order that masses might be said for the souls of those who had been slain near that place; and a pecuniary satisfaction was to be made to some of their heirs, particularly the Earl of Warwick agreed to pay two thousand marks for the benefit of the younger brethren of the Lord Clifford. After the terms of agreement were adjusted, in order to notify the accommodation to the people, a solemn procession to St. Paul's was appointed, in which the Duke of York led Queen Margaret, and the other leaders of the different parties walked hand in hand, in token of friendship; particularly the Duke of Somerset, son of him who was killed at St. Alban's, walked with the Earl of Salisbury, and the Duke of Exeter with the Earl of Warwick.

We have already taken notice of the Earl of Warwick's being appointed High Admiral. He soon evidenced his diligence in that office, and his regard for his country's honour, by fitting out several squadrons for the public service, to the several officers of which he gave such instructions as he thought proper. But soon after the accommodation between the Yorkists and their opponents, he had an opportunity of signalizing himself upon the sea in person. Returning to his government of Calais, with thirteen large ships under his command, he fell in with a large fleet belonging, as it is said by the historians, to different powers,

valour; they disputed every inch of ground with the enemy; and, instead of surrendering, either sold their lives dear, or gained the neighbouring fields, with a resolution of recovering the town, as soon as they were reinforced by the neighbouring militia. This accordingly they at length effected, and the French were at length obliged to embark, though

they carried with them the booty of the town.

(c) We are told, as a proof of the universal estimation in which Warwick was held, that no man esteemed himself gallant who did not wear his ragged staff; nor was any house well-frequented, that had not over the door his White Cross painted.

powers, and particularly the Spaniards, who had before this commenced hostilities against the English. Their lading was very rich, but their convoy much stronger than the force which the Earl had with him. Notwithstanding this, he fought them for almost two days, took six of their largest ships, laden with wines and other commodities, to the value of upwards of ten thousand pounds, killed a thousand of their men, and destroyed, or run ashore, about twenty-six of their ships besides. The Lubeckers, who then made a great figure in the European commerce, happening to have a large share in this fleet, entered a complaint at the Court of England against the Earl of Warwick for this action; and on the 31st of July, 1458, King Henry had appointed Commissioners to examine into the affair. Warwick had disposed of the ships and cargoes at Calais, to the great profit of the inhabitants of that place. And it is conjectured, that the French and Spaniards were really the owners of the fleet, but that they agreed with the Lubeckers, who were a neutral power, to demand satisfaction of the English Admiral. This action, however, was far from being disagreeable to the nation; but the more popular it made Warwick, the more the Queen and her party were displeased with it; for the late seeming reconciliation was merely external, and by no means real. The Earl of Warwick, therefore, finding the matter likely to end in a prosecution, came over into England, where he found things in great confusion; for the Genoese, who pretended likewise to be great sufferers in the late sea-fight, had made reprisals upon many English ships, and particularly upon a very rich Turkeyman, belonging to one Sturmine, a Bristol merchant. Sturmine complained to the English Court, and the effects of all the Genoese about London were immediately seized; nor were they released till Sturmine had compensation for his damages. The Queen, however, caused the enquiry to be carried on against Warwick with the greatest rigour; while he, on the other hand, complained of her insincerity, and the little regard she had to the glory of the nation.

The public now began greatly to interest themselves in this affair. People formed themselves into parties about it, and that with such warmth, as to occasion frequent tumults in the streets of London. Matters even went so far, that the Queen's Attorney-General was killed in one of the frays. But these disturbances did not stop here; one of the Queen's servants insulted a domestic belonging to the Earl of Warwick; their companions on each side took part in the quarrel; a desperate battle ensued; some of Warwick's followers were killed upon the spot; and the Earl's own life was in such imminent danger, as he was coming from the Council, and passing through Westminster, that it was with difficulty he escaped to his barge. He found reason to believe, that this was in consequence of a design which the Queen had formed to cause him to be assassinated.

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And it also appeared that King Henry had issued orders for arresting him, and committing him prisoner to the Tower of London. But the Earl of Warwick was so extremely popular in the city of London, that the rumour of an attempt upon his person, occasioned an universal outcry against the Court, and the loudest reproaches against the Queen for her perfidy and dissimulation. However, the Earl set out for Yorkshire, where he had an interview with his father and the Duke of York; and they resolved again to appeal to arms, for satisfaction on account of the violation of the late agreement; after which, Warwick repaired to his government of Calais.

The Earl of Salisbury immediately assembled some troops, with which he directed his march towards Herefordshire, in order to join the Duke of York; but he was met at Morebath, on the borders of Staffordshire, on the 23d of September, 1459, by the Lord Audeley, at the head of a force greatly superior to his; however, supplying his defect in numbers by stratagem and skill, he totally defeated the royal army, and then reached the general rendezvous of the Yorkists at Ludlow. And the Earl of Warwick having now sufficiently secured Calais in his interest, arrived in England with a choice body of veterans, under the command of Sir Andrew Trollop, an officer of great courage and experience, with whom he joined his father and the Duke of York. But this reinforcement proved, in the end, of the utmost disadvantage to the Yorkists; for when the royal army approached, and a general action was every moment expected, Sir Andrew Trollop deserted with the whole detachment he commanded. This was so fatal a stroke at this juncture to the York party, as the example of Trollop was followed by many others, King Henry having by proclamation offered a pardon to all those who would lay down their arms, that the Duke of York, and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, found it necessary to retreat in the best manner they were able. Accordingly the Duke of York retired towards Wales, and from thence went over into Ireland; and as he had been before entrusted with the government of that kingdom, and had made himself very popular there, he was received as a lawful Sovereign. As to the Earl of Warwick, he again withdrew to his government of Calais, accompanied by his father, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Earl of Marche, eldest son to the Duke of York. However, the Queen caused the Duke of York, and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, with their chief adherents, to be proclaimed traitors; and they were afterwards attainted by the Parliament.

The Earl of Warwick's being in possession of the government of Calais, was of very great advantage to the York interest at this crisis. It was a post of great importance, and gave Warwick the command of the only regular military force now maintained by England. Philip de Comines, who was contemporary

temporary with the Earl of Warwick, says, that Calais was
 “ the chiefest jewel belonging to the Crown of England, the
 “ best government in the world, or at least in christendom ;
 “ and this (he adds) I know, for I was several times there, and
 “ was told by the chief officer of the staple for cloth, that he
 “ would farm the government of that town at fifteen thousand
 “ crowns *per annum* ; for the Captain of Calais receives all
 “ profits on that side of the sea, has the benefit of convoys,
 “ and orders the garrison as he pleases.”

The Queen and her party were very sensible of the importance of this post ; a commission, therefore, was granted to the Duke of Somerset, appointing him Governor of Calais for the term of ten years ; but the Earl of Warwick refused to deliver up the place, alledging, that he held it by the appointment of Parliament, and that no other authority could vacate his commission. However, Somerset failed over with some troops to Calais, with a view of forcing entrance into it. He accordingly summoned the town to surrender, but had no other answer than what came from the mouth of its cannons. And as he found that no motion was made in the town in his favour, and that he was unable to carry his point, he retired to Guisnes, where he resided in expectation of farther supplies. When Somerset went on shore, he left his ships, with some of his friends on board, at sea ; but the seamen were so well affected to the Earl of Warwick, that they carried the ships into Calais. But Warwick was on this occasion guilty of a very inhuman and indefensible action ; for he caused the Duke of Somerset's friends who were on board these ships, to be put to death.

However, the Queen sent down Richard, Lord Rivers, with Anthony Woodville, his son, to Sandwich, with orders to equip as strong a squadron as he possibly could, in order to put the Duke of Somerset in possession of the government of Calais. But when these ships were almost ready, the Earl of Warwick sent Sir John Dineham, an officer of his, who surprized Lord Rivers in port, and carried off not only all his ships, but himself and his son, to Calais, where they long remained prisoners. After this, Sir Baldwin Fulford undertook to burn the Earl of Warwick's fleet in the haven of Calais ; but this quickly appeared to be but a vain enterprize. For Warwick was now evidently become absolute master of the sea ; and what added to his power, was the prodigious reputation he had acquired among all the seamen, and the inhabitants of the coasts. This appeared plainly soon after the surprizal of Lord Rivers at Sandwich ; for Warwick thinking there was now a fair opportunity of making a fresh attempt in favour of the Duke of York, had sailed to Ireland, in order to concert how to bring it about. After this interview was over, the Earl, upon his return, was met by the Duke of Exeter, who was now appointed Admiral, and having information that Warwick was sailed with

with his fleet into Ireland, stood to sea with the royal navy, in order to intercept him ; but when Warwick's fleet appeared, the sailors on board the King's fleet absolutely refused to fight against their beloved Warwick. The Earl, however, did not think proper to attack the Duke of Exeter's fleet, but, passing by it, proceeded directly to Calais. And Warwick was so universally beloved in the nation, and particularly by the military people, that great numbers of volunteers daily repaired to him, and he soon found himself at the head of a strong body of forces.

It being now suspected by the Court, that the Earl of Warwick had a design to make a diversion in the kingdom in favour of the Duke of York, the Earl of Wiltshire was sent down with a commission to secure the sea-coast, in case of an invasion. This commission, which is said to have extended to a kind of judicial power to try and imprison all whom they suspected to be of the Duke of York's party, alarmed the inhabitants of Hampshire and Kent, and they sent over a direct invitation for the Earl of Warwick to come to their relief. And as this was too favourable an incident to be neglected, the Earl set sail with a squadron, in order to sound the inclinations of the people, and make himself better acquainted with the situation of affairs in England. But Sir Simon Mountford, warden of the cinque ports, lay with a very strong squadron at Sandwich, in order to oppose his landing. Warwick, however, attacked, defeated, and destroyed the greatest part of the royal fleet ; and among those who perished, was Sir Simon himself. Warwick afterwards landed at Sandwich, and having there taken the proper measures to strengthen his interest in that part of the country, returned again to Calais.

Shortly after, in 1460, Warwick, having left Calais in a good posture of defence, landed again in Kent, accompanied by his father, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Earl of Marche. Before this, they had caused a manifesto to be dispersed over the kingdom, representing the grievances of the nation, and affirming that there had been treacherous designs against the lives of the Duke of York, and the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury ; for no other cause, it was said, but for the true heart they had ever borne to the King's prosperity and that of the realm ; and it concluded with a solemn declaration of their loyalty and attachment to King Henry. A copy of this manifesto had been sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury ; and this, together with the great unpopularity of the Administration, operated so strongly in favour of Warwick's design, that he had scarce landed before he was met by Lord Cobham with four thousand men, together with Bourcnier, Archbishop of Canterbury, and many other persons of distinction. The Archbishop had permitted the Yorkists manifesto to be affixed to the doors of his

cathedral, and also engaged several other Prelates in the same cause.

Warwick proceeded immediately from Sandwich towards London; and was joined by so many on his march, that before he reached the capital, he was forty thousand strong. He entered the city on the 2d of July, 1460, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, no opposition being made to his entrance; but, on the contrary, he was welcomed by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. Next day there was a meeting of the chief Clergy, with the principal citizens, in St. Paul's cathedral; and in this assembly the Earl of Warwick gave a detail why he, and the Lords confederated with him, took up arms; and afterwards, with all the Lords of his party, he took an oath, that he had ever borne true allegiance to Henry, and that he meant so to do. The Queen was at this time at Coventry, where the royal army rendezvoused, and King Henry at Northampton.

The Earl of Warwick, having reinforced his army with some Londoners, determined to march against the royal army, which was hastening from Coventry to attack him. The two armies came in sight of each other in the neighbourhood of Northampton, and immediately made preparations for an engagement. However, before they came to action, the Bishop of Hereford was sent from the confederate Lords to the royal army, with proposals of preliminaries for a treaty of accommodation. But as this came to nothing, the royal party rejecting all offers of submission and reconciliation, the attack began. The right wing of the Yorkists was commanded by the Earl of Warwick; the Lord Cobham conducted the left; and the Earl of Marche took his station in the center.

The Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham commanded the royal army. The leaders of the York party having strictly enjoined their men to respect the person of the King, and spare the common soldiers, but to give no quarter to the officers, advanced to the charge with great intrepidity. The royal army was very strongly entrenched; and the Earl of Warwick attacked with such vigour one of the chief posts, which was commanded by Lord Beaumont, that the Royalists in that part were entirely driven from their entrenchments. The battle, which began about two o'clock in the afternoon, was maintained with great courage and obstinacy on both sides till seven in the evening; when the Lord Grey of Ruthwin, who commanded a considerable part of the royal army, having deserted to the Yorkists, the rest of the Royalists were struck with such a panic, that they instantly began to give way, and were routed with the loss of ten thousand men. The Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, son of that brave Earl who was the subject of our preceding life, were left dead upon the field of battle; together with the Lords Beaumont and Egremont, and many other

other persons of distinction. The Duke of Somerset with great difficulty escaped, and fled to Durham, with the Queen and Prince of Wales. As to King Henry, he had, all that day, remained in his tent, where the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Marche found him, and threw themselves at his feet, with expressions of the most profound loyalty.

King Henry was immediately after conducted to Northampton, with all the marks of honour and regard; and after staying a short time at that place, set out, with the confederated Lords, for London, which had been left under the care of the Earl of Salisbury. On the 5th of August, the Earl of Warwick received a commission, confirming him in the government of Calais, and giving him that of Guisnes, which was still held by the Duke of Somerset. Soon after a Parliament was assembled at Westminster, in order to settle the affairs of the nation. Mean while the Duke of York, who had been for a considerable time in Ireland, having received intelligence of the success of his party, returned immediately from that kingdom; and coming to London on the third day of the session, repaired directly to the House of Peers, who were then sitting.

The Duke of York had never yet openly avowed any claim to the Crown. He had only complained of the iniquity and misconduct of the Ministers, and demanded a redress of the public grievances. But he now formally declared to the Parliament his pretensions to the Throne, and referred the justice of his claim to their consideration (*d*). Accordingly the matter was debated in the Parliament for several days together, and they at length came to this determination, That Henry should enjoy the Crown for his natural life, and the Duke of York be declared his successor. As soon as the acts of Parliament relative to this settlement were passed, King Henry, with the Crown upon his head, the Duke of York, his two sons, and the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, went in solemn procession, and heard divine service at St. Paul's, by way of thanksgiving for this happy accommodation; and King Henry appeared perfectly well satisfied with the whole transaction.

Queen Margaret, however, by no means acquiesced in this settlement. For after the battle of Northampton, she had retired into the northern counties, and had there exerted her interest with so much diligence and success, that she soon collected an army of twenty thousand men, with which she determined to

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advance

(*d*) The third son of King Edward III. was Lionel, Duke of Clarence; his issue was Philippa, married to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of Marche; their eldest son was Roger Mortimer, Earl of Marche; whose son Edmund, Earl of Marche, dying without issue, their eldest daughter was Anne Mortimer, married to Richard of York, Earl of Cambridge; and their eldest son was Richard, Duke of York, who now claimed the Crown. Henry VI. was the third in descent from John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster, fourth son to Edward III.

advance against the Duke of York, in hopes by that means to retrieve the affairs of her family. She had received letters from King Henry, requiring her and her eldest son to repair to London; but to this summons she paid no regard. The Duke of York, therefore, being apprized of her design, hastened into the north with a body of five thousand men, leaving the King under the tuition of the Earl of Warwick, and the Duke of Norfolk. But on his arrival at Wakefield, he found himself so much out-numbered by his enemies, that he threw himself into Sandal castle, which was situated in the neighbourhood; and was advised by the Earl of Salisbury, and others, to remain in that fortress till his son, the Earl of Marche, who was levying forces in the borders of Wales, could come to his assistance. But the Duke, who thought it would be a great disgrace to him to shelter himself behind walls against troops which were under the direction of a woman, descended into the plain, and offered battle to the Queen's army, which was commanded by the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter. However, the Duke of York, though he displayed the most undaunted courage, was defeated by the superiority of the enemy, and fell himself in the action; and his son, the Earl of Rutland, a youth about twelve years of age, was, after the battle, inhumanly massacred in cool blood, by the Lord Clifford. This defeat of the Yorkists at Wakefield, was also a tragical event to our Earl of Warwick; for it cost him a father and a brother. His brother, Sir Thomas Nevil, fell in the action; and his father, the Earl of Salisbury, being wounded and taken prisoner, was carried to Pomfret, and there beheaded, and his head fixed upon the walls of York, as well as that of the Duke. So that the Earl of Warwick, by the death of his father, was now also become Earl of Salisbury.

Shortly after the battle of Wakefield, Edward, Earl of Marche, son to the late Duke of York, who was animated by the death of his father to a desire of revenge, defeated a part of the Queen's army, which was under the command of the Earls of Pembroke and Wiltshire, at Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire, the Lancastrians losing four thousand men in the action. However, Queen Margaret, with the remainder of her army, which was still numerous, continued her march towards London.

The Earl of Warwick, being informed of the approach of the Queen's army, assembled his troops, and marched out of London to meet it. Margaret's army had proceeded as far as St. Alban's, when she understood that Warwick was advancing against her, with the King in his army. The two armies met and engaged on Bernard's heath, near St. Alban's. The Queen's army was much superior to Warwick's. But notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, the bravery and conduct of Warwick rendered the fortune of the day for a long time doubtful; but
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the Lord Lovelace, who commanded one of the wings, having treacherously withdrawn from the combat, the Yorkists were at last defeated, with the loss of two thousand men. The Earl of Warwick, however, rallied his broken troops with great address, and retreated in good order. Lord Bonvil and Sir Thomas Kyriel, who had been entrusted with the care of King Henry's person, were persuaded to remain with that Prince, on his solemn assurance that they should sustain no injury; but Margaret, regardless of her husband's honour, ordered their heads to be struck off at St. Alban's; though they had continued with Henry only to preserve him from outrages.

The Londoners were so much enraged at this, and several other instances of Margaret's cruelty, that they absolutely refused to admit her into the city, or even to supply her troops with provisions, and she was soon after obliged to retire into the north. For the Earl of Warwick, with the remainder of his troops, had joined the Earl of Marche at Chipping Norton in Oxfordshire, and from thence they marched towards London. On the 28th of February, 1461, they entered the city, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people. The Earl of Marche, who was in the bloom of youth, and remarkable for the beauty of his person, his courage, activity, and affability, found himself so much the object of public favour, that he determined to take the speediest method of mounting the Throne. Accordingly the Earl of Warwick drew out the army in St. John's Fields, near Clerkenwell, where a prodigious number of the citizens of London, with the inhabitants round, attended. The Earl then rode into the midst of the crowd, and read aloud the agreement between King Henry and the Duke of York, and which had been ratified by Parliament.

Warwick then told the people, that as the King had notoriously infringed this convention, he had of course forfeited his right to the Crown, which now belonged to Edward Plantagenet, the true heir and representative of the House of Mortimer. He next raised his voice, and asked, if they would have Henry of Lancaster for their King: the whole multitude exclaimed against the proposal; but when he demanded, whether they would acknowledge Edward for their Sovereign, they expressed their approbation with loud acclamations. A great number of Prelates, Lords, Magistrates, and other persons of distinction, were then assembled at Baynard's castle, who ratified the election of the new King; who was next day proclaimed in the city of London, and the neighbourhood, under the name of Edward IV.

Queen Margaret, who, with Henry, was now in the northern counties, had, however, found means by her address, and the assability which she assumed, to collect an army of sixty thousand men, warmly attached to the interest of the Lancaster family.

family (*e*). The young King Edward, who was now only in his twentieth year, was no sooner informed of the Queen's progress, than he set out from London, together with the Earl of Warwick, and an army of forty thousand men, in order to oppose her. When they arrived at Pontefract, they detached a body of troops, under the command of the Lord Fitzwalter, to secure the passage of Ferrybridge, over the river Aire, which ran between them and the enemy. Fitzwalter executed the order with diligence and success, and took post on the north side of the river.

Queen Margaret, King Henry, and the Prince of Wales, being now in prospect of a battle, retired to York in expectation of the event, committing the command of their army to the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford. The surprise of Ferrybridge by Edward's troops greatly disconcerted Henry's Generals. However, Lord Clifford, setting out with a party in the night-time, attacked the enemy's detachment at Ferrybridge so unexpectedly, that they recovered the pass, the Yorkists being driven to the other side of the river with great slaughter, and Lord Fitzwalter himself was killed in the action.

This loss might have proved fatal to Edward, had it not been for the great courage and presence of mind of the Earl of Warwick. He was alarmed at the news of this disaster, and dreaded the consequences with which it might be attended, at a time when a general battle was every moment expected. He, therefore, galloped up to King Edward, who was posted at the head of his army, which was drawn out; and immediately dismounting, stabbed his horse in the presence of all the troops. Warwick then addressed himself to the King, "God have mercy, Sir, (said he) upon their souls, who for love of you, in the beginning of your enterprize, have lost their lives. Yet let them fly that will fly; for by this cross (kissing the hilt of his sword) I will stand by him who will stand by me."

The Earl of Warwick's gallant and resolute behaviour, animated not only King Edward, but his whole army. And to inspire the troops with the greater courage, a proclamation was issued, giving to every one who pleased, full liberty to retire; but threatening the severest punishments to those who should discover any symptoms of cowardice in the ensuing battle. Lord Falconbridge, who was uncle to our Earl of Warwick, was afterwards sent to retake the post which had been lost, and he succeeded in the attempt; Lord Clifford, who commanded it,

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(*e*) The people thus divided in their affections, took also opposite symbols of party: the partizans of the House of Lancaster chose the red rose as their mark of distinction; those of the House of York were denominated from the white; and these civil wars were thus known, all over Europe, by the name of the quarrel between the two roses, *Hume*.

it, being killed, and his whole party defeated. It was at Towton that the two armies came to a general engagement. Henry's army consisted of sixty thousand men, but Edward's of not quite forty. Henry's army was commanded by the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. The vanguard of Edward's army was commanded by the Lord Falconbridge, and the main body by the Earl of Warwick. The battle was long, obstinate, and bloody; victory, however, at length declared for the Yorkists; for Henry's army was totally defeated, and with great slaughter. In this fatal action, upwards of thirty-six thousand Englishmen fell by the sword! Henry and Margaret, who had continued at York during the battle, when they were informed of the defeat of their army, fled into Scotland with great precipitation.

The victorious Edward, having gained this signal victory, marched back to London, where he was soon after crowned. And on the 20th of March, 1462, the Earl of Warwick was made Keeper of the Narrow Seas, a post different from that of High Admiral of England, which was given to the Earl of Warwick's uncle, the Earl of Kent; but in consideration of Warwick's great and important services, he was afterwards also appointed Governor of Calais and the Rysebanck, Lieutenant of the Marches, and Governor of the castle of Guisnes; General Warden of the West Marches of Scotland, Lord Great Chamberlain of England for life, Constable of Dover castle, and Lord High Steward of England. So that besides his private inheritance, his revenues were valued at eighty thousand crowns *per annum*.

In 1463, King Edward marched at the head of a numerous army into the north of England, in order to oppose Queen Margaret; for that Princess had repaired to France, and obtained some succours from that kingdom, she having engaged to put the French King in possession of Calais, if ever her family should recover the English Throne; and with this assistance from France, together with some Scottish adventurers, and many adherents of the Lancaster family, she had again taken the field. But before the arrival of King Edward, the Lancaster army was totally defeated at Hexham by the Lord Montague, brother to the Earl of Warwick. When King Edward arrived near Durham, and found that the success of Montague had rendered it unnecessary for him to advance further, he returned to York, leaving the Earl of Warwick to reduce the castles of Alnwick, Banbury, and Dunstanbury, with some other places, which were still in the hands of the Lancastrians. Warwick soon after made himself master of Banbury and Dunstanbury; but Alnwick held out till the Earl of Angus came to its relief with a body of Scotch troops; and then a treaty being set on
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foot between the Scots and English, the garrison of Alnwick were suffered quietly to march out.

After the defeat of the Lancastrian army at Hexham, Queen Margaret, with her young son, made her escape into Flanders (*b*); but her husband King Henry was not so fortunate. For some of that unhappy Prince's friends having taken him under their protection, had conveyed him into Lancashire; but he was there discovered by the Yorkists, and being seized, his legs were fastened under the belly of a horse, like the vilest malefactor, and in this unworthy manner they proceeded to carry him prisoner towards London. He was met on the road by the Earl of Warwick; who is said to have been, on this occasion, so forgetful of every principle of humanity and generosity, as to add fresh indignities to those which the unfortunate King Henry had already suffered, and to engage the rude multitude to redouble their insults upon the head of the unfortunate Prince; a Prince, to whom Warwick had more than once solemnly sworn allegiance! and whose innocency of manners and character, as well as his high rank, should certainly have secured him from such unworthy treatment. Warwick proceeded with the captive Prince to London, and Henry was immediately committed prisoner to the Tower.

Besides the many preferments which King Edward had already bestowed upon the Earl of Warwick, he now gave him the temporalities of the Bishopric of Carlisle, which happened to be vacant; he also gave him some Crown lands, and estates forfeited by the Lancastrian party. His brother, Lord Montague, was also made Earl of Northumberland, in the room of Piercy,

(*b*) There was something very singular in the manner of Margaret's escape. After the battle of Hexham, she fled with her son into a forest, and there endeavouring to conceal herself, was beset, during the darkness of the night, by a gang of robbers; who, either ignorant or regardless of her quality, stripped her of her rings and jewels; and treated her with great indignity. However, the division of the booty occasioned a quarrel among the robbers; and while they were disputing the matter, the Queen, with her son, escaped out of their hands, and got into the thickest part of the forest, where she wandered for some time, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, and overwhelmed with terror and affliction. Whilst in this distressful situation, she observed a robber advancing towards her with his drawn sword; and finding it impossible for her to escape, she suddenly embraced the resolution

of trusting entirely for protection to the faith and generosity of the outlaw. Accordingly she approached him with an air of confidence and dignity; and presenting to him the young Prince, then about ten years of age, "Here, friend," cried she, "save my son, the son of good King Henry." The man, whose humanity had been obscured, but not extinguished by his vicious course of life, was equally struck with the beauty of her person, and the nature of her address. He vowed not only to abstain from all injury against her, but to devote himself entirely to her safety and protection. He laid hold of the young Prince with one hand, and, supporting the Queen with the other, carefully conducted them out of the forest to a village near the sea-side, and from thence she found means to make her escape into Flanders.

Piercy, who had forfeited his title and estate by his attachment to the Lancaster family ; but soon after King Edward thought proper to restore Piercy to the Earldom of Northumberland, and in stead thereof, created Montague a Marquis. Montague, however, was extremely disgusted with this alteration ; and it is said that his brother Warwick began now also to be discontented with Edward, not thinking his services sufficiently rewarded.

But notwithstanding this, in 1464, the Earl of Warwick was appointed to go over into France, to treat of a marriage between King Edward, and the Lady Bona of Savoy, sister to the Queen of France. It is said, that Lewis XI. King of France, had before this held a close correspondence with the Earl of Warwick ; that they were perfectly well acquainted with each other's sentiments, and that Warwick had always been for keeping fair with the French Court ; and, therefore, was not displeased at this opportunity of having a personal interview with Lewis, and of introducing Edward's intended bride to the Throne of England. However, the Earl of Warwick went over with a vast equipage to France, and was extremely well received at the French Court, the intended marriage being very agreeable to Lewis. It appears, that Warwick was also empowered to treat about a final peace, an alliance, or a truce with Lewis ; and also to conclude a treaty of amity and friendship between the two Kings. Nevertheless, nothing material was concluded with respect to these ; but the treaty of marriage was finally settled, and nothing remained but the ratification of the terms agreed on, and the bringing over the Princess into England, when an unexpected occurrence put an end to the whole affair.

King Edward, who happened to be hunting in Northamptonshire, near the manor of Grafton, had a mind to go and visit Jaquelina of Luxemburgh, Dutchess of Bedford, who had espoused in a second marriage Sir Richard Wideville. By him she had several children ; and, among the rest, Elizabeth, who was remarkable for the beauty of her person, as well as for other amiable accomplishments. This young Lady had married Sir John Grey of Groby, by whom she had children ; and her husband being slain in the second battle of St. Alban's, fighting for the family of Lancaster, and his estate being on that account confiscated, the young widow withdrew to her father's seat of Grafton, where she lived in a retired manner. But the King's visit appearing to her a favourable opportunity of soliciting his favour, she came and threw herself at Edward's feet, beseeching him to restore the lands of her deceased husband, and entreating him, with many tears, to have pity upon her children. The sight of so much beauty in distress, had a powerful effect upon the young Monarch, whose constitution was remarkably amorous ; he became violently enamoured with the beauti-

ful widow, and sought to gratify his passion in an irregular manner: but she resisted all his importunities; and Edward, despairing of being able to obtain her any other way, at length offered her marriage. This was too great an offer for the young Lady to reject; however, before he proceeded any further, the King acquainted his mother, the Dutchess of York, with his intentions. And the Dutchess exerted her utmost endeavours to dissuade him from his purpose; urging the affront that would thereby be put upon the King of France, and particularly representing to him the injury he would do the Earl of Warwick, to whom he was under so many obligations, and who, there was reason to fear, would highly resent it. But the King's passion being too violent to be under the direction of reason, the arguments and remonstrances of the Dutchess were without effect, and Edward privately married the Lady Grey at Grafton.

According to some historians, the Earl of Warwick and the French Ambassador were at sea when this marriage was consummated, and were greatly astonished when they understood it on their landing; but, according to others, Warwick received intimation of it while he was in France, and thereupon instantly returned into England. But however this was, they all agree, that the Earl of Warwick was highly enraged at it, deeming himself affronted, both by being employed in such a deceitful negotiation, and by being kept a stranger to the King's intentions, who had owed every thing to his friendship. But whatever indignation Warwick might entertain against Edward on account of his marriage (c), it is certain that they did not immediately come to an open rupture; for on the 24th of March, 1465, Edward appointed the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Hastings to treat with James of Luxemburgh, the King's uncle, (by his late marriage) in behalf of the Earl of Charolois; and on the 8th of May following, while the Parliament was sitting, Warwick was put at the head of two other commissions; one for treating about restoring a full intercourse of commerce with the Duke of Burgundy, and the other for concluding a definitive alliance with the Duke of Brittany.

The situation of affairs at Court, was, however, by no means such as would naturally tend to remove any disgust which the Earl of Warwick might have conceived. The new Queen did not lose her influence over King Edward by marriage; and she made use of it to draw every mark of royal grace and favour to her own friends and kindred, and to exclude those of the Earl of Warwick, whom she considered as her mortal enemy. Her father,

(c) Some writers affirm, that Warwick had a much stronger cause of animosity against Edward. They assert, that the King had attempted to debauch one of the Earl's daugh-

ters. And Rapin observes, that Edward's character, who made no great scruple to do such things, gives ground to believe the fact.

father, Sir Richard Wideville, was created Earl of Rivers; her brother, Anthony Wideville, was married to the only daughter of Lord Scales, enjoyed the great estate of that family, and had the title of Lord Scales conferred upon him; and her son by her former husband was created Marquis of Dorset. And King Edward himself seems at this time to have been very jealous of the great power, credit, and popularity of the Earl of Warwick; and to have been very desirous of lessening his influence.

It appears, nevertheless, that the Earl of Warwick had still great weight in the public affairs of the kingdom. For we find him, in 1466, named as the first in all commissions on record, and acting even as Prime Minister. And on the 6th of May, 1467, commissioners being appointed to treat with the Admiral of France, who was come over on an embassy from Lewis XI. the Earl of Warwick was placed at the head of them. He was also employed, together with the Lord Hastings, to treat of a marriage between Charles of Burgundy, Earl of Charolois, and the King's sister. But the influence of the Queen's relations continued to encrease, and they began to engross all places of power and profit. The Earl of Rivers was made High-Treasurer, as well as High-Constable, of England; and the Great Seal was taken from the Earl of Warwick's brother, George Nevil, Archbishop of York, and given to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, a dependent of the Queen's.

It seems probable, from the appearance of Warwick at Court, and his being engaged in public affairs, after the marriage of Edward, that his resentment against the King on account of that event was not so great, but that he might have been pacified. But the real and principal cause of Warwick's resentment against Edward, seems to have been not merely the King's marriage, but the consequences of it, namely, the Queen's relations monopolizing the administration of government. The Earl of Warwick had been the principal means of raising Edward to the throne; he had been long considered as the first man in the kingdom; and his high spirit could not bear any diminution of his power and influence. But should it be admitted, that Warwick, on account of the obligations which Edward had to him, had some reason to be discontented, it will surely be impossible to vindicate his forming a design to involve his country once more in all the horrors and calamities of civil war, merely for the sake of gratifying his own private resentment.

But though the Earl of Warwick was sometimes at Court, and employed in the public affairs of the kingdom, he yet frequently repaired to his castle of Warwick. We have before taken notice of his unbounded hospitality; and his popularity on this, and on other accounts, was not decreased by the decline of his influence at Court. No great Roman, we are told, ever possessed the art of popularity more than this great Englishman

did. To all the better sort he appeared a companion, and to their inferiors a father; and he was at the pains to welcome every one in person, and to be instructed to salute them by their names. And even the antient Nobility of England, being disgusted at the sudden growth and great power of the Queen's relations, the Widevilles, were more generally disposed to support the interest of the Earl of Warwick, whose grandeur and superiority they had been long accustomed to, and to which they had been the more reconciled, by the openness and affability of his manners.

At the beginning of the year 1468, the truce with France being very near expired, and no measures taken for the renewal of it, preparations were made on both sides for a renewal of hostilities. This gave the Earl of Warwick a very plausible pretext for repairing to his government of Calais; though the true reason of his going there, appears to have been in order to have an interview with the King of France, which is said to have been before projected between Lewis and him. And the former no sooner heard of Warwick's arrival in France, than he came to Rouen, and even met the Earl on the road to that place. Had Warwick been King of England, he could not have been more caressed by Lewis, nor could greater honours have been shewn him. The King and the Earl dined together at the same table; they lodged in the same house; a private communication was opened between their apartments; and we are told, that they continued, with very little interruption, in close conference together for eight days. This intercourse was of too private a nature for the subject of their conferences to be known; but they are supposed to have turned upon the means of restoring the House of Lancaster, and the measures which the Earl of Warwick some time after put in execution. However, they parted extremely well satisfied with each other; and Lewis impowered the Earl of Warwick to hold a noble fee in France.

After Warwick's return to England, he took every method of strengthening and encreasing his popularity. And King Edward, who seemed now desirous of being upon good terms with Warwick, about the beginning of the year 1469, named him in a commission of inquest, concerning some lands in Picardy; and on the 7th of August the same year, he was made chief Justiciary of South Wales, and Constable of Cardigan castle; and had also some other offices conferred upon him. But the Earl of Warwick's resentment was now too deeply rooted to be easily removed.

King Edward's Queen was so intent upon aggrandizing her own relations and immediate dependents, and in which the King imprudently concurred, that the principal Nobility of the kingdom were very much disgusted; and in particular the Duke of Clarence, the King's second brother, being excluded from
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all offices of trust and profit, and all share in the administration of government, was much discontented. The Earl of Warwick, who observed this, and was desirous of strengthening his party, endeavoured to gain him over to his interest. Accordingly he offered his eldest daughter Isabella in marriage to the Duke of Clarence; and as Warwick had no male-issue, and she was co-heiress of his immense fortunes, this settlement was superior to any that the King himself could confer; Clarence, therefore, readily accepted of the Earl's proposal, went over with him to Calais, and there solemnized his nuptials, and became warmly attached to the interest of Warwick. Whatever designs the Earl himself might have formed at this juncture, it is not probable that he intimated any thing more to the Duke of Clarence, than a removal of the Queen's relations from the administration of the public affairs; and Clarence might reasonably hope, that his own and Warwick's credit united, might be sufficient to effect this, and to place themselves in the chief posts of the Government under Edward.

While the Earl of Warwick and his new son-in-law continued at Calais, a dangerous insurrection was raised in Yorkshire. Indeed, according to some historians, it was not till after their return into England; for there is much obscurity and contradiction in the English historical writers of this period. However, the commotion was a very dangerous one; for no fewer than fifteen thousand men had assembled together, though the pretence was only the misapplication of the revenues of an hospital in York; to which, it seems, the county had been obliged to contribute. Indeed, it is suggested that the Earl of Warwick was at the bottom of this disturbance, and had brought it about by his intrigues. Be that, however, as it may, the rioters directed their march towards the city of York, which was filled with terror and consternation, until the Marquis of Montague, Warwick's brother, threw himself into the town with a body of soldiers; and, in a sally, took Robert Hiliyard, their leader, whom he ordered to immediate execution. The rebels, however, still continued in arms, and being soon headed by men of greater distinction, Sir Henry Nevil, son of Lord Latimer, and Sir John Coniers, they advanced southwards. The Earl of Pembroke was then ordered by the King to march against them at the head of a body of Welshmen, and he was joined by five thousand archers, under the command of the Earl of Devonshire; but a trivial quarrel having arisen between these Noblemen, Devonshire retired with his archers, and left Pembroke alone to encounter with the rebels; in consequence of which, Pembroke's army was defeated, and himself killed in the action. And Richard, Earl of Rivers, the Queen's father, with his son John, being seized at Grafton by a party of the rebels, was beheaded at Northamp-

ton by the command of Sir John Conyers, who is then said to have retired with the rebels to the town of Warwick.

The death of the Earl of Rivers, who was Warwick's capital enemy, by these malecontents, together with their afterwards retiring to the town of Warwick, have been thought a strong evidence that the Earl of Warwick was really at the bottom of this insurrection; and, indeed, Historians in general have supposed this to be the case; and it must be owned, that the behaviour of the rebels forms a very strong presumption against him. "These people (says Rapin) had no manner of reason " to take up arms against Edward on the score of the hospital " at York, if they had not been privately egged on by some " powerful enemy of the King, who could be no other than " the Earl of Warwick; for there was not at that time in the " kingdom any Prince of the House of Lancaster, or any Lord " of that party, in a condition to cause these insurrections." However, King Edward does not seem to have suspected Warwick of being concerned in this commotion. For in March, 1470, he granted a commission to the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence, for holding a general array of all the King's subjects within Worcestershire, and other counties where they had interest. And the rebels, though they had increased to the number of sixty thousand men, were quieted and dispersed, in consequence of a general pardon being offered to them by the King, to which he was advised, as it is said, by the Earl of Warwick.

It was not long, however, before the Earl of Warwick's intentions were too manifest to be mistaken. He had brought the Duke of Clarence so much into his views, as to induce him to take up arms openly, in conjunction with him, against his brother King Edward. Clarence and Warwick had received commissions to levy troops; and they did so, but it was not for Edward's service. They raised them in their own names, issued declarations against the Government, and complained of grievances, oppressions, and bad government. King Edward, however, seems not to have believed that they would be able to stand against him in the field, at the head of English forces; but rather imagined there might be danger from Ireland, of which kingdom the Duke of Clarence was at this time Lord Lieutenant. On the 23d of March, therefore, (which was no more than sixteen days after Clarence and Warwick had received commissions to levy forces for Edward's service) the King, who was then at York, issued out a proclamation, forbidding the Irish to obey any longer the Duke his brother, and ordering them, on the contrary, to apprehend both Clarence and Warwick, in case they should retire to Ireland. He also promised a considerable reward to any who should seize the persons of Clarence and Warwick, and conferred the government of Ireland upon the Earl of Worcester. Three days after, general commissions of array,

array, against the Duke and Earl by name, were issued all over the kingdom; but they had not so much effect as the King expected; for all his authority could neither diminish the army of his opponents, nor raise one for himself superior to theirs.

However, King Edward assembled all the troops he could collect together, and with them marched towards Warwick, where the Earl and the Duke of Clarence, with their forces, now were. The real friends to their country began now to be greatly alarmed at this situation of affairs, and at the consideration of those calamities which these proceedings would probably bring upon the nation. Many of the Nobility and Clergy endeavoured to mediate a peace between the contending parties; and they so far succeeded, that there appeared to be good hopes of an accommodation. And while the mediators for this purpose were going backwards and forwards, Edward lay at Woolney, within four miles of Warwick; and was, we are told, so much deceived by the appearances of moderation, and disposition to peace, in the Earl of Warwick, that he neglected the necessary precautions for the safety of his person. The Earl, therefore, taking advantage of Edward's security, marched in the middle of the night, with a select detachment of his troops, to the King's camp; and having killed such of the Royalists as opposed him, made Edward prisoner in his bed. Warwick reproached the King for his ingratitude to him; and afterwards sent him under confinement to the castle of Middleham in Yorkshire, there to be guarded by the Earl's brother, the Archbishop of York, whom Warwick had brought into his views (*d*).

Warwick had now in his power the two rival Kings of England, and was the arbiter of both their fates. However, he did not take sufficient precautions for securing the person of Edward. That Prince having found out the weak side of his keeper, Archbishop Nevil, who was fond of flattery, so cajoled him, that he indulged Edward with a liberty of hunting within the places adjacent to Middleham castle. And the King improving this indulgence to his own advantage, found means to acquaint

(*d*) Mr. Hume positively asserts, (*Hist. of Eng.* Vol. III. P. 244. 8vo edit) that this whole story of King Edward's being taken prisoner by the Earl of Warwick must be false. His principal reasons for which are, that it appears from Rymer, that the King, throughout all this period, continually exercised his authority; and that in his manifesto against Clarence and Warwick, in which he enumerates their treasons, he takes no notice of this fact. But surely the account of

so important a transaction as this, supported by the testimony of so many historians, as Mr. Hume himself admits, ought not to be hastily rejected. Acts of government might be transacted in Edward's name, even while he himself was personally under confinement; and historians may be somewhat mistaken as to the exact date of the transaction, and yet the fact itself be true. As to this affair not being mentioned in the King's manifesto against the Duke and

acquaint two neighbouring gentlemen, Sir William Stanley, and Sir Thomas Burgh, of his intention to make his escape, and desired them to favour it, by lying in wait upon the road with some followers. Accordingly Edward succeeded in his design, and escaped to York, into which city he was readily admitted by the inhabitants. He continued there for two days, and then went to join the Lord Hastings, who was raising forces for him in Lancashire, from whence he passed to London, where he was extremely well received.

The escape of King Edward put the Earl of Warwick, and his associates, into the utmost consternation. For they thought themselves so secure, while the King was their prisoner, that, it is said, they had even disbanded their troops. However, Warwick assembled his adherents as expeditiously as he could; but the friends of both parties again labouring to bring about a reconciliation, it was agreed, that there should be an interview between King Edward, and the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick. Accordingly Clarence and Warwick came to Westminster, upon the King's safe-conduct. The interview was in Westminster-Hall; but it had not the least effect towards a pacification; but, on the contrary, inflamed their mutual animosity. For Warwick recounted his services to Edward, enumerated his grievances, boasted of his power, and reproached the King with ingratitude; and he, on the other hand, taxed Warwick with disloyalty and rebellion. Warwick and Clarence immediately after left London; and soon after a large body of Warwick's adherents being defeated, and he finding that he could not prevail upon his brother-in-law, the Lord Stanley, to join his party, and that his brother, the Marquis of Montague, remained quiet in Yorkshire, and declined acting in his favour, he thought it necessary for the present to leave the kingdom, and repair to his government of Calais. Accordingly he set out for Exeter, though with great pomp, and at great leisure, and accompanied by the Duke of Clarence. He had a number
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and Earl, it is most probable, that the transaction did not happen till after the publication of that manifesto. It is certain, that it could not have happened before the 7th of March, 1470, when Edward gave a commission of array to Clarence and Warwick; but does it follow from thence, that it could not have happened afterwards? In the *Abbe Regia*, (Vol. II. P. 353, 8vo Edit.) the time fixed for Edward's imprisonment and escape, is between the 25th of April, 1470, and the 26th of August in the same year. It is very difficult to conceive, that all our best historians should so unanimously concur in relating this re-

markable transaction, and even give us the names of the two gentlemen who assisted Edward in his escape from his confinement, Sir William Stanley, and Sir Thomas Burgh, (*Speed*, P. 859), and be supported by the testimony of Philip de Comines, a French cotemporary historian of the best credit, and yet the whole story be entirely false. Mr. Hume's observation, however, is very just, that "there is no part of English history "since the conquest, so obscure, so "uncertain, so little authentic or "consistent, as that of the wars between the two Roses."

of ships lay near Exeter, ready to convey him and his retinue to France. Being embarked, without any opposition, he made the best of his way for Calais. He carried with him the Councils of Warwick, and his two daughters, the eldest of whom, the Dutchess of Clarence, was ready to lie in.

When the Earl of Warwick and his ships arrived before Calais, he was, to his very great surprize, refused admittance into the place. He had left there, as Deputy-Governor, one Vaucier, a Gascon, who had hitherto served him with great fidelity; but he now not only opposed the entrance of Warwick into the place, but even refused to furnish the Dutchess of Clarence, who was delivered of a son while they lay at anchor before the town, with some necessaries which her situation required. And it was with difficulty, according to Comines, that he could be persuaded to send Warwick two flaggons of wine. However, Vaucier secretly apologized to the Earl for this appearance of infidelity, and represented it as proceeding entirely from zeal for his service. He alledged, that the garrison in general was prepossessed in favour of King Edward; that the town was full of his servants and officers, the Lord Duras in particular, who had been employed by Edward in carrying the Order of the Garter to the Duke of Burgundy, and who had raised and encouraged this spirit in favour of his master; that it would be certain ruin for the Earl of Warwick to enter into the place in the present situation of affairs; and that he, therefore, advised him, as the most prudent course, to retire into France, and trust to his fidelity; assuring him, that when a proper opportunity should offer, he would readily surrender the place into his hands. But that he thought it necessary to receive him in this rough manner at present; and by seeming to declare for Edward, he would acquire the confidence of that Prince (e), and thereby be enabled to keep the place, till a proper season of surrendering it to his old master, the Earl of Warwick.

Warwick, who was either satisfied with Vaucier's apology, or at least appeared to be so, set sail for a port in Normandy, and at last landed at Monsieur, where he was waited on by the Admiral of France. Soon after he repaired, with the Duke of Clarence, to Amboise, where the French King was, who gave them a very kind reception. Lewis's chief view in connecting himself with Warwick, appears to have been, in order to form the discord among the English, and by that means prevent them from attacking him, or interposing in his affairs. However, he testified the greatest regard and friendship for the Earl of Warwick; and it was agreed upon between them, that they

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should

(e) Vaucier's behaviour had this effect; for King Edward was so well pleased with what the Gascon had done, that he appointed him Govern-

nor of Calais; and the Duke of Burgundy, who was in alliance with Edward, gave Vaucier a yearly pension of a thousand crowns.

should unite their power and influence, in order to restore the House of Lancaster to the Throne of England (f). And for this purpose he sent for Queen Margaret, who was then at Angers; and she arrived at Amboise, together with her son the Prince of Wales. "No animosity (says Mr. Hume) was ever greater, than that which had long prevailed between the House of Lancaster, and the Earl of Warwick. His father had been executed by orders from Margaret: he himself had twice reduced Henry to captivity, had banished the Queen, had put to death all their most zealous partizans either in the field or on the scaffold, and had occasioned innumerable ills to that unhappy family." But notwithstanding this, as Edward was now the common enemy both of the Earl of Warwick, and the Lancaster family, they determined to unite their hitherto discordant interests, and to forget their antient animosity, for the mutual advantage of both. Margaret knew that the Earl of Warwick would be a most powerful auxiliary to her party; and Warwick considered that by taking up arms in favour of the Lancaster family, he would naturally be joined by all the adherents of it, and would also have a more plausible pretext for opposing Edward in the field, and have a better prospect of de-throning him; which was what his resentment now so strongly prompted him to. Accordingly it was stipulated, "That the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick should do their utmost to deliver Henry VI. out of prison, and to replace him on the Throne; that during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son, the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick should be regents of the kingdom; and that Prince Edward should marry the Lady Anne, second daughter to the Earl of Warwick." And the last article of the agreement, the marriage, was immediately celebrated in France. "Thus (says Rapin) the brother of King Edward became brother-in-law of the young Prince of Lancaster, and the Earl of Warwick was equally allied to the two contending Houses."

Whilst the Earl of Warwick was making the necessary preparations for his intended expedition into England, and waiting for the succours with which Lewis was to furnish him, part of his fleet cruized upon the Flemings, and took many of their ships, because the Duke of Burgundy, their Sovereign, sided with King Edward, whose sister he had married. The Duke complained

(f) No distress could be greater than that of the House of Lancaster at this time. Philip de Comines says, that he himself saw the Duke of Exeter, a Prince of the House of Lancaster, and brother-in-law to King Edward himself, following the Duke of Burgundy's train, barefooted and bare-legged, and begging his bread from door to door. His

quality was then unknown; but being afterwards discovered, he had a small pension allowed him from the Duke of Burgundy for his subsistence. Other Princes and Noblemen, allied to the Royal Family, were not in a better condition; and Queen Margaret, with her son, almost wanted subsistence.

complained of Warwick's proceedings to the French King, and demanded satisfaction ; which Lewis, to keep him in temper, promised he should receive ; and even put a considerable number of ships to sea, under a pretence of putting a stop to the depredations of Warwick's adherents ; but, in reality, with a very different design, namely, to support and protect the Earl of Warwick's ships. The Duke of Burgundy was exceedingly enraged both at the French King (g), and Warwick ; and he ordered La Veer, his Admiral, to publish a declaration, " That " he was commanded by his Prince to seize the Earl of Warwick wherever he could find him."

King Edward, who was very desirous of drawing his brother, the Duke of Clarence, from his connections with the Earl of Warwick, sent over for that purpose into France, a Lady who belonged to the train of the Dutchess of Clarence. This Lady, who, as Comines says, " was no fool, nor blab of her tongue," and had liberty granted her to visit her mistress, and for that " reason was employed in this secret rather than a man," executed her commission with great address ; and found means to represent to the Duke of Clarence, that by engaging in the party of Warwick, he only hastened his own ruin ; for, if the schemes of that Nobleman should be crowned with success, he could not expect that the family of Lancaster would repose any confidence in a Prince of the House of York ; or even suffer him to live, after they should have accomplished their purpose ; that, instead of relying on the oath of Margaret, he ought to regard it as a plot contrived to effect his destruction ; that the Earl of Warwick would be the first to oppress him, in order to ingross into his own hands the sole administration of public affairs ; and that the King his brother having only one daughter of a tender age, whom death might remove, he was the next heir to the Crown ; but if the Earl of Warwick's schemes succeeded, he would lose all prospect of mounting the Throne. These, and other reasons, together with a promise of forgiveness, and of brotherly affection, from King Edward, had so much effect upon Clarence, that he secretly engaged, when a fa-

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vourable

(g) The Duke sent the following laconic epistle to the Archbishop of Narbonne, one of the first of the French Ministers, and the Admiral of France.

Archbishop and you Admiral,

" The vessels which you told me " the King had put to sea against " the English, have fallen upon my " subjects, in their return to my do- " minions ; but by St. George, if

" you do not take care of them, " with the help of God, I will. Nor " will I mind your apologies, or " your reasons for your justification, " which are too stiff and long- " winded.

" MAY 29.

CHARLES."

The Duke was as good as his word ; for he seized all the ships belonging to Lewis, or his subjects, which he could meet with, and confiscated their effects.

vourable opportunity should offer, to desert the Earl of Warwick, and abandon the Lancastrian party.

During this negotiation, the Earl of Warwick was carrying on a similar correspondence with his brother, the Marquis of Montague, who was at this time entirely confided in by King Edward; and Montague agreed to join his brother Warwick the first favourable opportunity; but that he might at a proper season do this with the better effect, he determined, for the present, to maintain the appearance of being a zealous adherent to the House of York.

These snares being thus laid by the different parties for the destruction of each other, and the Earl of Warwick's fleet and his French succours being now ready, he set sail for England. The Duke of Burgundy had fitted out a large fleet to oppose Warwick, with which he guarded the channel; but this fleet was dispersed by a storm, and the Earl landed at Dartmouth, with the Duke of Clarence and the Earls of Oxford and Cambridge. King Edward, who was brave, but indolent, did not possess any considerable degree of penetration. He was, therefore, not sensible of his danger, though he was incessantly informed by his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, of the perils to which he was exposed; but he, notwithstanding, had made no suitable preparations to oppose the execution of the Earl of Warwick's designs. "He never was concerned at any thing," (says Comines) but followed his hunting, and nobody was so great with him as the Archbishop of York and the Marquis of Montague, both the Earl of Warwick's brothers."

The Earl of Warwick, when he landed, had but very few French with him, being unwilling to give umbrage to his countrymen. He was immediately joined by the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Stanley. And Warwick's prodigious popularity, together with the zeal of the Lancastrian party, and the discontent of others against Edward, who had, indeed, been guilty of many acts of cruelty, had such effect, and drew such multitudes to the Earl's standard, that in a very few days his army amounted to sixty thousand men, and was continually increasing. And he had immediately on his landing caused Henry VI. to be proclaimed, and issued out an order in his name for all his subjects from sixteen to sixty to take up arms, and drive out the tyrant and usurper Edward.

King Edward, who was exceedingly unprepared for this event, gave orders for the levying of troops, which he appointed to rendezvous near Nottingham; a part of the kingdom, indeed, sufficiently distant from Dartmouth, where the Earl of Warwick had landed. But it is said, that Edward, finding his adherents greatly discouraged by the progress and great name of the Earl of Warwick, and finding himself unable to cope with him in the open

open field, judged it most prudent to retreat to the northern countries (b).

The Earl of Warwick, however, made long marches towards King Edward, who had now raised a considerable army. Camines says it was superior to Warwick's. The King's army was encamped near Nottingham, and Warwick had approached within a few miles of it. Edward had, in the front of his army, a bridge, and was strongly intrenched in a village, which could not be attacked but by this bridge. In this condition he lay, without any apprehensions from the enemy, and was at dinner when he heard that the Marquis of Montague, who had raised six thousand men, and was appointed to command the van of the royal army, had gone over to his brother, the Earl of Warwick, with all the troops under his command. As to the Duke of Clarence, he was either not yet determined about deserting Warwick, and going over to his brother, agreeably to the promise which he is said privately to have made; or otherwise he was over-awed, by the great success and power of Warwick, from attempting it at this time.

Edward at first could scarcely credit the account of Montague's desertion. However, he sent out messengers to enquire into the truth; and, in the mean time, posted himself at the head of a strong detachment, in order to dispute the passage of the bridge, in case of an attack. The messengers speedily returned, not only with a confirmation of the desertion of Montague, but with an account, that the Earl of Warwick, with his whole army, was on full march towards the King. In this dilemma, he called a council of war; in which the Lord Hastings (who had married Warwick's sister, but, nevertheless, steadfastly adhered to Edward,) gave it as his opinion, that the greater part of the Royal army would desert to the Earl of Warwick; or that even, though they should preserve their fidelity, they would not be able to make head against Warwick's army. He, therefore, advised the King to consult his own safety, by retiring to the sea-side, where he might find an opportunity of making his escape into Holland. As the danger was so pressing, Edward embraced the advice of Hastings, and immediately set out towards Lynn in Norfolk, with his chief and most faithful adherents. However, he and his retinue were in danger of being overtaken on the road, by a party of light horse, sent by the Earl of Warwick to pursue them. Nor did they escape till after

(b) According to some writers, at the time of Warwick's landing, King Edward was gone into the north, in order to suppress an insurrection, raised in Yorkshire by the Lord Fitzhugh, married to Alice, sister to the Earl of Warwick. This,

indeed, if true, would sufficiently and naturally account for Edward's appointing the rendezvous of his forces at Nottingham; but no notice is taken of this circumstance by the generality of our historians.

after they had lost all their baggage in the Washes of Lincolnshire, through which they were obliged to pass. Edward finding in the harbour of Lynn three or four ships bound for Holland, instantly set sail, and after having narrowly escaped a fleet of Easterlings, landed safely at Alcaer (1).

After King Edward's departure, his army laid down their arms, and submitted to the Earl of Warwick, who immediately marched towards London. He entered that city, on the 6th day of October, 1470, amidst the acclamations of the people. The Earl had somewhat hastened his march to London, on account of his having received information, that great numbers of Essex and Kentishmen, encouraged by the present unsettled state of the Government, had formed a design of pillaging the city of London; and they actually did great damage in Southwark, and the suburbs of the city. But Warwick soon put an end to these disorders, and gained great applause from the citizens of London, for his zeal and activity in the preservation of their houses and properties.

On the same day that the Earl of Warwick entered London, he went to the Tower, accompanied by the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and other persons of rank, and released King Henry from that state of confinement, in which he had now continued near nine years. Warwick, who had before been the principal author of the unfortunate King's confinement, was now the instrument of his release. Henry was led from his prison to his palace; while King Edward's Queen took sanctuary in the abbey of Westminster, where she was delivered of a son named Edward.

In consequence of this extraordinary revolution, which had been accomplished in the space of eleven days, by which the Earl of Warwick was become master of the kingdom, all the Judges, Sheriffs, and Coroners of the kingdom, were removed from their places. On the 26th of November, the Parliament assembled, in which Edward was declared a tyrant and usurper, his estates and effects confiscated, and all statutes enacted by his authority were annulled; the Crown was settled upon Henry, and the male issue of his body; and, in default thereof, on the Duke of Clarence and his descendants; and this Prince, and the Earl of Warwick, were appointed Regents of the kingdom during the minority of King Henry's son Edward. It was also enacted,

(1) "Thus (says Comines) King Edward escaped, having about seven or eight hundred men in his company, without any clothes but what they were to have fought in, not one cross in their pockets, and not one in twenty knew whither they were going. It was strange to see this poor

King (for so he might justly be called) run away in this manner, and be pursued by his own servants. He had been used to his ease and his pleasures twelve or thirteen years together, and enjoyed more of them than any Prince in his time," *Comines, liv. 3. 4. 5.*

enacted, that all the adherents of the late King Edward, who did not immediately surrender themselves, should be put to death. But the Earl of Warwick, and his party, were, notwithstanding, more moderate in their executions, than was usual after a revolution in those turbulent times ; for the only person of distinction who suffered death on this occasion, was the Earl of Worcester (1).

The Earl of Warwick, apprehending that Edward might meet with a powerful protector in the Duke of Burgundy, sent over a detachment of three or four thousand men, to reinforce Vaucler, the Governor of Calais, of whose fidelity he was now well assured. Philip de Comines, who was sent by his master, the Duke of Burgundy, to Calais, in order to get the treaty of commerce confirmed between that place and the Low Countries, just after King Edward had left England, being introduced to Vaucler, found him with a golden ragged staff upon his hat, as a mark of his attachment to the Earl of Warwick. All the officers of the garrison also wore Warwick's badge and livery, and even the common soldiers, and inhabitants of the town. And Vaucler receiving orders from Warwick to carry fire and sword into all the dominions of the Duke of Burgundy which lay near Calais, put those orders immediately into execution. And it seems that Warwick's acting with so much vigour against the Duke of Burgundy; was the principal cause of Edward's afterwards receiving any real assistance from that Prince, who appears otherwise not to have been disposed to afford any material support to the distressed King of England, notwithstanding their affinity.

On the 2d of January, 1471, the Earl of Warwick was appointed by King Henry, Admiral of England ; and the Duke of Clarence was replaced in the government of Ireland, and had an appointment in lands granted him by Henry. Warwick's brother, the Marquis of Montague, had the post of Warden of the East Marches of Scotland given him, and likewise a grant of large estates ; as had also his other brother, the Archbishop of York. And Warwick, who had in fact the sole administration of the public affairs, endeavoured to conclude an alliance

(1) JOHN TIPTOFT, Earl of Worcester, was born at Everton in Cambridgeshire, and educated at Balliol College in Oxford. He was son of the Lord Tibetot, or Tiptoft, and Powys, and was created a Viscount and Earl of Worcester by King Henry the Sixth, and appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in the 35th year of that Prince's reign. By King Edward IV. he was made Knight of the Garter and constituted Justice of

North Wales for life. He was a man of great learning for the age in which he lived ; an age in which, as Mr. Horace Walpole observes, ' valour & ignorance were the attributes of Nobility ; and metaphysical sophistries, and jingling rhymes in barbarous Latin, were the highest endowments and prerogatives of the Clergy.' On his return from a pilgrimage which he made to Jerusalem, he resided some time at Venice and

alliance between King Henry, and his old friend Lewis XI. of France. But as a peace could not be concluded, on account of Henry's pretensions to the Crown of France, a long truce was resolved upon. There seems something singular in the treaty made upon this occasion; for it was agreed, according to Rapin, that the truce should last till one of the two parties had a mind to break it; in which case he was to give the other notice five years before-hand.

The Earl of Warwick had now been in possession of the government of England about six months; when King Edward, having received some assistance, though privately (1), from his brother-

and Padua, where he made great purchases of books. He afterwards visited Rome, through a curiosity of seeing the Vatican Library; and was, we are told, so masterly an orator, that in an elegant and pathetic oration which he made to Pope Pius II. who was a great patron of learning, he drew tears from the pontiff's eyes. He founded a fraternity in Alhallow's Barking, near the Tower of London, and is said to have published several translations and learned tracts; and to have given manuscripts to the value of 500 marks to the University of Oxford. But learning does not seem, according to some writers, to have humanized his temper, or softened his heart; for he is charged with much cruelty; particularly with having, a few weeks before King Edward left the kingdom, condemned about twenty gentlemen of Henry's party, who were taken on board a ship at Southampton, to be hanged, and then fixed to the gallows by their legs, and afterwards impaled upon the highways. Besides the preferences already mentioned, it appears that he was by Edward the Fourth made Treasurer of the Exchequer, and High Constable of England. On the restoration of Henry by the Earl of Warwick, he absconded, and being taken concealed in a tree in Weybridge forest in Huntingdonshire, he was brought to London, accused of cruelty in his administration of Ireland, particularly towards two infant sons of the Earl of Desmond, and being condemned, was beheaded at the Tower. 'It was an unwonted strain of tenderness, (says Mr.

Walpole) in a man so little scrupulous of blood as Warwick, to put to death so great a Peer, for some inhumanity to the children of an Irish Lord; nor does one conceive why he sought for so remote a crime: he was not often so delicate. Tipstaff seems to have been punished by Warwick for leaving Henry for Edward; when Warwick had thought fit to quit Edward for Henry.' The Earl of Worcester had been rendered, probably, more particularly obnoxious to Warwick and his party, on account of his being again appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, at the time when that post was taken from the Duke of Clarence, on that Prince's joining openly with the Earl of Warwick against Edward. For by the very same proclamation in which a reward was offered for seizing the persons of Clarence and Warwick, the government of Ireland was conferred upon the Earl of Worcester. It has been said of this Nobleman, that when he was beheaded, 'the axe did at one blow cut off more learning than was left in the heads of all the surviving Nobility.' Mr. Walpole, in his *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, has enumerated several of his translations, and other pieces.

(1) The Duke of Burgundy, who was unwilling to give the Earl of Warwick a pretext, at this time, for attacking his dominions, declined assisting him openly; but he equipped four large vessels, in the name of some private merchants, at Terveer in Zealand; and causing fourteen ships to be secretly hired of the
Easterlings,

brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, set sail for England, and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, with about two thousand men. When Edward found that the new Magistrates, who had been placed in authority by the Earl of Warwick, prevented the people every where from joining him, he pretended, and even made oath, that he did not come to claim the Crown, but only the inheritance of the House of York, which of right belonged to him, and that he had no design to raise a civil war in the kingdom. This moderate claim brought many over to his standard, who before were opponents to him; great numbers joined him, and he was admitted into the city of York; where, it is said, he even swore allegiance to King Henry; however, his adherents were soon so numerous, that he was enabled to avow his real intentions, and to resume his Royal title.

The Earl of Warwick having received information of Edward's landing, had given the Duke of Clarence a commission, in Henry's name, to raise troops to oppose the progress of Edward; and both Warwick and Clarence leaving London, took different routes for the same purpose, after agreeing to join together as soon as their levies were completed. The Magistrates of the towns were ordered to shut their gates upon Edward, and his adherents; and the Marquis of Montague, who was at Pontefract with a body of troops, had received orders to go and fight Edward before he should reach York; but the Marquis, for what reason is not known, had taken no step to oppose Edward.

When Warwick was acquainted with the progress of Edward, and the inactivity of Montague, he ordered the Marquis to join him at Coventry, where he now lay, with six or seven thousand men, expecting the Duke of Clarence. Edward had, however, gained two or three marches of the Marquis, and came up to Leicester, where he was joined by three thousand troops, the followers of Lord Hastings. Strengthened with this reinforcement, he marched to Coventry the 20th of March, 1471, in hopes of forcing Warwick to a battle; but found him too well provided to be attacked. However, Edward knowing Warwick's high spirit, lay three days before the place, using every kind of provocation to bring him into the field, but without effect. He then marched forward to the Earl's own town of Warwick, in which he was received as King. But even this could not provoke the Earl of Warwick to give him battle; for he knew himself too weak, and therefore sent frequent expresses to the Duke of Clarence, desiring him to advance with all possible expedition.

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Easterlings, he delivered this small squadron together with a sum of money, to Edward. But to save appearances with Warwick, as soon as the Duke of Burgundy was informed

of Edward's departure, he issued a proclamation, prohibiting all his subjects from giving him countenance or assistance.

While the Earl of Warwick was thus in expectation of Clarence's arrival, he received a most unwelcome piece of news. He was informed, that the Duke of Clarence, with all his troops, which amounted to twelve thousand, had deserted to King Edward. This was a fatal stroke to Warwick; but notwithstanding this unexpected misfortune, which, says Rapin, "would have disheartened any man but him, he could not stoop to hearken to any proposals of an accommodation, tho' the Duke of Clarence offered him his mediation (*)." He rejected with disdain all the overtures of peace; and to the Duke of Clarence's messengers made this reply: "Go tell your Duke," said he, "that I had rather be an Earl, and always like myself, than a false and perjured Duke; and that e're my oath shall be falsified, (as his apparently is) I will lay down my life at my enemies feet; but which, I doubt not, shall be bought dearly."

Norwithstanding the junction of King Edward's forces, and those of his brother Clarence, and Warwick's rejection of the offer of an accommodation, they did not think proper to attack him, but marched towards London. As soon as the news had reached that city, that the two brothers had joined, and were approaching, the Earl of Warwick was given over for lost. This belief filled the people with apprehensions, which Edward's friends took care to foment, of the danger to which the city would be exposed, in consequence of Edward's indignation, unless he was appeased by a speedy submission. But notwithstanding this, it is doubtful whether Edward's attempt upon London would have proved successful, had not the Archbishop of York, to whose care the person of Henry, and the defence of the city, was entrusted, betrayed the interest of his brother Warwick. This Prelate had lately made his peace with Edward, who, by his connivance, was received into the city on the 11th of April. And the unfortunate King Henry was thereupon seized in the palace of the Bishop of London, and sent again to the Tower, from whence he had been taken seven months before, to re-ascend the Throne. Archbishop Nevil was also committed to custody, in order to save appearances; but in two days he was set at liberty, and obtained a full pardon for all treasons and misdemeanors.

Edward, however, could make but a short stay in London; for next day he received information, that the Earl of Warwick, having left Coventry, had advanced by Northampton to St. Alban's.

(*) Clarence sent certain messengers unto Warwick; first to excuse his own fact, as too unnatural for him to unsheath his sword against his own brother, as also he sought to stay the effusion of English blood, which in these quarrels lay ready to be shed. His peace with Edward he promised to work, and that with such honour, as Warwick should know himself not only a father to Clarence, but likewise unto Edward, great England's King.—*SHAKS.*

Ban. The King, therefore, put himself at the head of his army, in order to give him battle. Warwick, being joined by his brother Montague, had marched with great expedition from Coventry, in hopes that he should be able to reach London before Edward could gain admittance into the city. But he saw the Metropolis lost, and King Henry in prison. However, he determined to fight Edward, though his army was greatly inferior to the King's. The two armies met at Barnet; and the battle began early on Easter-Day, the 14th of April, 1471. Just before the charge, the Earl of Warwick dismounted, and sent away his horse, to intimate that it was his determined resolution either to conquer, or to fall in battle. He then solemnly embraced each General Officer, conjuring them to remember for whom, and against whom they fought.

Edward's vanguard was commanded by his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester; his main body by himself; the Duke of Clarence served as a volunteer; and Edward's rear was led by the Lord Hastings. The first division of Warwick's army, in which the Marquis of Montague served, but without any rank, was commanded by the Earl of Oxford; the second division by the Duke of Somerset, and the third by the Duke of Exeter. Warwick reserved no particular command to himself, that he might be at liberty to act wherever occasion should require.

The battle began with incredible fury on both sides. The Earl of Warwick's troops fought with such impetuosity, that Edward's first line was forced to give way; but in all other parts the battle was so equal, that, for six hours, no advantage could be discerned on either side. At last, Lord Hastings drove the Duke of Exeter's division from their ground; but the active Earl of Warwick sending in speedy reinforcements, the battle was renewed with still greater fury. Edward, upon this, brought up a body of reserve, with which he attacked the flower of Warwick's army under the Duke of Somerset. Here the Earl of Warwick posted himself to encourage his men, telling them, "That this was the last resource of the enemy; and that, if they stood this one charge, the field was their own."

While the victory thus hung doubtful, an incident happened, which decided the fortune of the day. The device on the arms and ensigns of the Earl of Oxford, who commanded the first division of Warwick's army, was a star shooting forth rays; and that of Edward was a sun. The Earl of Oxford, having routed a part of Edward's army, was wheeling round to join Warwick's main body, which in following the enemy he had left at some distance, when Warwick's soldiers observing a star approaching through the medium of a thick fog, which then happened to cover the earth, mistook it for Edward's standard, and attacked their friends with such fury, that they were routed and dispersed before the Earl of Oxford could convince them of their mistake. And Oxford's division, finding themselves attacked by

their friends, suspected they were betrayed, and fled towards the enemy with great precipitation. This gave an opportunity for Edward's routed wing to rally: the charge was renewed by the Yorkists with great vigour; and the disorder and confusion became general among Warwick's troops.

The Earl of Warwick in vain exerted his most vigorous efforts, in order to rally and encourage his dispirited forces. And his sending off his horses at the beginning of the engagement, in order to convince his men that he was determined to share the fate of the meanest soldier in the army, did in the end contribute to his defeat. Because it prevented his being personally present in every place where his direction and assistance were necessary, and because his men were no longer animated by the sight of their Commander, under whose eye they believed themselves to be unconquerable. At length, the Earl of Warwick, after having performed every thing that could be expected from the most consummate General, and the most undaunted hero, and disdaining life when victory was gone, rushed into the middle of Edward's ranks, and fell in the midst of his enemies, covered with wounds. His brother, the Marquis of Montague, met with the same fate. The Earl of Warwick's death completed the defeat of his army, and King Edward remained master of the field.

Such was the end of RICHARD NEVIL, Earl of Warwick, who appears to have been the greatest man of his time; and in fortune, power, and influence, was the most considerable subject who ever appeared in England. "He was," says Mr. Hume, "the greatest, as well as the last, of those mighty Barons, who formerly overawed the Crown, and rendered the people incapable of any regular system of civil government." The Earl of Warwick was sometimes called *THE KING-MAKER*, because he placed Edward IV. upon the Throne, and afterwards, dethroning him again, restored Henry VI. It is observed by Rapin, that "since the beginning of the quarrel between the Houses of Lancaster and York, the Earl of Warwick had made in England so great a figure, as no subject had ever done the like before him. In a word, he had made and unmade Kings just as he pleased. This (adds the historian) is the most glorious thing that could be said of a private man, if true glory consisted in excess of power." Indeed, it must be acknowledged, that little can be said in defence of the Earl of Warwick's moral character. For it appears evidently, that he sacrificed every thing to his ambition; and that to indulge his own passions, and private resentments, he made no scruple of involving his country in all the horrors and calamities of civil war.

The bodies of the Earl of Warwick and his brother Montague were conveyed to London after the battle, and exposed to public view in two coffins in St. Paul's cathedral, for three days together,

together, and afterwards King Edward allowed them to be decently buried in the priory of Bisham in Berkshire, among their ancestors. It appears that the Earl of Warwick had a grant from the Crown, of preheminance above all English Earls; he was also a Knight of the Garter; and had, on account of his greatness, a peculiar officer called *WARWICK-HERALD*.

His Lady, the Countess of Warwick, was reduced to great straits after her husband's death. The case of this Lady was peculiarly hard; she had possessed, in her own right, one of the most considerable estates in the kingdom; but all her inheritance was taken from her, and settled upon her daughters; and they appear so much to have neglected her, that she is said to have been forced to take sanctuary in abbeys, in a very mean condition, till in the reign of Henry VII. the acts of Parliament, by which she was deprived of her estates, were repealed; she surviving her husband many years.

The Earl of Warwick left no male issue. His eldest daughter, Isabel, was, as is related in the foregoing life, married to George, Duke of Clarence (n). His other daughter, Anne, who was first married to Edward, Prince of Wales, son to King Henry VI. was afterwards married to that cruel tyrant, Richard III. one of the murderers of her first husband. She had one son by Richard, who died an infant; and she was carried off herself in 1484, partly by the unkind treatment she received from Richard, and partly, as is supposed, by poison administered to her by him.

(n) The Duke of Clarence, notwithstanding all his services in deserting the Earl of Warwick, was never able to regain the King his brother's friendship. And in 1478, a pretended accusation of treasonable designs was brought against him; in consequence of which, though the charge was very ill supported, he was put to death, at the instigation chiefly of his brother Gloucester. It is said, however, that he was favoured with the choice of his own death,

and that he was privately drowned in a butt of Malmsey in the Tower. He had by his Dutchess, Warwick's daughter, a son named Edward, who was stiled Earl of Warwick, and was beheaded on Tower-Hill in the reign of Henry VII. and a daughter, named Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, who was also beheaded on Tower-Hill, in the reign of Henry VIII. when she was upwards of seventy years of age.



The Life of Sir JOHN FORTESCUE, Lord High Chancellor of England.

JOHN FORTESCUE was descended from the antient family of the Fortescues in Devonshire; but there is no certain account of the time, or place of his birth; and there is some diversity in the accounts of his immediate parentage. But the account which appears to be the best supported, is, that he was the third son of Sir Henry Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland; though it is highly probable that he was born in the West of England (e). Nor is there any certain account in what University he studied, or, indeed, whether he studied in any; but, according to Bishop Tanner, he was educated in Exeter College, Oxford; and which, from the great learning diffused throughout his writings, and particularly his great skill in the civil law, appears not improbable.

When he turned his thoughts to the municipal laws of England, he resolved to betake himself to that profession. Accordingly, in pursuance of this determination, he settled in Lincoln's-Inn, where he quickly distinguished himself in a very uncommon manner; and where, it is asserted, that his lectures were crowded, on account of the high reputation which he had acquired, in the civil as well as in the common law. And it is a very remarkable circumstance, that at the period in which Fortescue lived, in which learning in general appears manifestly to have been at a very low ebb, the particular study of the law eminently flourished (f). In an age in which we meet not with

(e) Mr. Prince, in his *Vertues of Devonshire*, says, that Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Lord Chief Justice, and Lord High Chancellor of England, was born most likely at Norreis, in the parish of North Huish, near South Brent, in the county of Devon. He says also, that he was the second son of Sir John Fortescue, of Norreis. But Lord Fortescue, formerly one of the Justices of the Court of King's Bench, and afterwards of the Common Pleas, was very clear that he was the third son of Sir Henry Fortescue, Lord Chief

Justice of Ireland; which Sir Henry was son of Sir John Fortescue, who had the honour of Knighthood conferred on him for his valour in the French wars under Henry V. and was made Governor of Meaux in Berry.

(f) Sir John Fortescue, in his excellent treatise, entitled, *De Laudibus Legum Anglie*, which was written by him for the instruction of Prince Edward, son to King Henry VI. has given us a very curious account of the state of the Inns of Court and Chancery in his time. Addressing himself

with a single writer, on any other subject or science, worth reading, except for the sake of antiquity; in which neither Philosopher, Poet, Divine, or Historian, of any eminence, appeared; a treatise on the common law of England was written, which

Lord

himself to the young Prince, he says, "To the intent, most excellent Prince, that you may conceive the form and image of this study, as I am able I will describe it unto you. For there are for these studies ten lesser Houses or Inns, and sometimes more, which are called Inns of Chancery, and to every one of them belongeth an hundred students at least, and to some of them a much greater number, though at one time they be not ever all together in the same. Those students for the most part are young men, studying the originals and the elements of the law, who profiting therein as they grow to ripeness, so are they admitted into the greater Inns, called the Inns of Court, of which greater Inns there are four in number. And to the least of them belongeth in form above-mentioned; two hundred students, or thereabouts; for in these greater Inns, no student can be maintained for less expences by the year, than twenty marks. And if he have a servant to wait upon him, as most of them have, then so much the greater will his charges be. Now by reason of this, the children only of Noblemen study the laws in those Inns; for the poorer and common sort of people are not able to bear so great charges for the exhibition of their children. And Merchants can seldom find in their hearts to burthen their trade with so great yearly expences. And thus it falleth out, that there is hardly any man found within the realm skilful in the laws, except he be a gentleman born, and one descended of a Noble stock. Wherefore, they more than any other kind of men have a special regard to their Nobility, and to the preservation of their honour and fame; and to speak with strict regard to truth, there is in these greater Inns, and even in the lesser too, besides the study of the laws, as it were an University or school for the acquisition

of all commendable qualities requisite for Noblemen. There they learn to sing, and to exercise themselves in all kinds of harmony. There also they practise dancing, and other gentle accomplishments, as they are accustomed to do, which are brought up in the King's house. On working days most of them apply themselves to the study of the law, and on holy days to study Holy Scripture, and out of the time of divine service to the reading of Chronicles. For there indeed are virtues studied, and from them are vices exiled. So that for the acquisition of virtue, and eradicating of vice, Knights and Barons, with other States, and Noblemen of the realm, place their children in those Inns, even though they desire not to have them learned in the laws, nor to live by the practice thereof, but only upon their fathers allowance. Seldom, if at any time, is there heard amongst them any sedition or grudging; and yet the offenders are no otherwise punished, than only by being removed from the company of their fellowship, which punishment they more fear than other offenders imprisonment and irons; for he that is once expelled, is never received to be a fellow in any of the other fellowships; and by this means there is continual peace, and their demeanour is like the behaviour of such as dwell together in perfect amity.—But there is one thing more which I would have you know, that neither at Orleans, where both the Canon and Civil Laws are taught, and to which, for that reason, scholars resort from all the adjacent countries; nor at Anjou, nor at Caen, or any University in France, Paris only excepted, are there so many youths grown up, employed in study, as in these Inns of Court and Chancery; though there are none that study there, but what are English born."

Lord Coke has declared to be " the most perfect and absolute work that ever was written in any human science (*q*).

The first date which occurs with respect to Fortescue's preferments, is the fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. when he was made one of the Governors of Lincoln's Inn, and was honoured again with the same employment three years after. In Michaelmas term, 1430, he was promoted to the degree of Serjeant at Law, and kept his feast upon that occasion with great splendour (*r*). In 1441, he was made one of the King's Serjeants at Law ; and the following year he was constituted Chief Justice of the King's Bench at Westminster. He was greatly esteemed for the gravity, wisdom, and integrity, with which he presided in that court for many years. He continued in great favour with the King, of which, in the twentieth year of his reign, he received a signal proof, by an unusual augmentation of his salary ; for besides the usual allowance of a Chief Justice, he had granted him an annuity of one hundred and eighty marks out of the Hanaper ; a great sum in those days.

Sir John Fortescue held his high office throughout the whole reign of Henry the Sixth, to whom he very steadily adhered, and whom he served with great fidelity in all his troubles. And on this account, in the first Parliament under King Edward IV. which began at Westminster on the 4th of November, 1461, he was attainted of high treason, by the same Act of Parliament in which King Henry VI. Queen Margaret, Edward their son, the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, and the Earls of Devonshire and Pembroke, and a great number of persons of distinction, were likewise attainted. And on the thirteenth of March following, Sir John Markham was appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Fortescue's room.

After

(*q*) Sir Thomas Lyttleton's treatise on the tenures or titles, by which all estates were antiently held in England. *Vid.* Pref. to Coke's Institutes, ad Edit. Besides Fortescue and Lyttleton, Lord Coke enumerates several other famous and expert sages of the law in the same age; particularly Sir John June, Sir John Hody, Sir John Markham, and Sir Thomas Billing, Justices of the King's Bench ; and Sir Richard Newton, Sir John Prisot, Sir Robert Danby, Sir Thomas Brian, Sir Pierce Arderne, Sir Richard Choke, and Walter Moyle, Justices of the Court of Common Pleas.

(*r*) In that treatise of his which we have already mentioned, he takes notice, that those who were raised to the degree of Serjeant, according to the custom then in use, gave a

great dinner, like the feast at a King's coronation, and continued their entertainments for seven days ; which, when there were eight Serjeants made at a time, amounted to three thousand two hundred marks, or four hundred marks a piece. He is very particular in marking the number and price of the gold rings ; of which, he says, not so much as a clerk in the Common Pleas, but received one, and that when himself was called to the degree of Serjeant, those rings cost him fifty pounds. He takes notice likewise, that none could be raised to the office of a Judge, either in the King's Bench, or Common Pleas, but must be of the degree of a Serjeant ; to which degree men could not then be raised, till they had been at least sixteen years at the bar.

After this revolution in favour of the House of York, of which a more particular account is given in the life of the Earl of Warwick, King Henry being obliged to fly into Scotland, together with Queen Margaret and his son Prince Edward, was accompanied by Sir John Fortescue. And it is generally believed, that at this time he was constituted Chancellor of England by King Henry; George Nevil, then Bishop of Exeter, to whom the Great Seal had been delivered in 1460, remaining in the service of King Edward IV. Sir John Fortescue's name, indeed, is not to be found in the records as Chancellor of England; because, as Mr. Selden says, "being with King Henry VI. driven into Scotland by the fortune of the wars with the House of York, he was made Chancellor of England while he was there." Several other writers, however, besides Mr. Selden, who were extremely well read in the history and antiquities of this nation, have tiled Sir John Fortescue Chancellor of England; particularly Sir Henry Spelman, and Mr. Bulstrode Whitlocke. And in his own book, *De laudibus legum Angliæ*, he calls himself, *Cancellarius Angliæ*.

In April, 1463, Sir John Fortescue embarked with Queen Margaret, Prince Edward, the Duke of Exeter, and other persons of distinction, who followed the fortunes of the House of Lancaster, to the number in the whole of two hundred, at Bamburg, and landed at Sluys in Flanders; from whence they were conducted to Bruges, thence to Lisle, and thence into Lorrain. In this exile he remained for many years, retiring from place to place, as the necessities of the Royal Family required; for though during that time, the Queen and Prince were often in motion, and several attempts were made for the restoration of King Henry; yet, as Sir John Fortescue was now near fourscore years of age, it is not probable that he was exposed to such hazards. He might do them better service by soliciting their interest at different Courts; for at that time of life he cannot be reasonably supposed to have been able to endure the fatigues of war.

Whilst our venerable Chancellor was thus exiled from his native country, he observed the quick parts, and excellent understanding, of young Prince Edward, King Henry's son, who applied himself wholly to military exercises, and seemed to be entirely occupied with the desire of qualifying himself for an expert Commander. Sir John Fortescue, however, thought it was time to give him some other impressions, and to infuse into his mind just notions of the constitution of his country, and a due respect to its laws, that if Providence should raise him to the Throne, he might govern as a King, and not as a Tyrant, or Conqueror. That these sentiments might be deeply impressed upon the young Prince's mind, and that he might have it in his power to fix in his memory more strongly the substance of the conversations which passed between him and the Chancellor

upon these subjects, Sir John Fortescue drew up that treatise of his which we have already mentioned, entitled, *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*. This work was written in the Latin tongue; and is a very curious and concise vindication, as well as eulogium, of our laws (1); and has ever been held in the highest estimation by those who were the best qualified to judge of its worth.

(1) This discourse of Sir John Fortescue's, it has been observed, has in the most eminent degree those two great properties, from which works of learning are justly styled excellent, solidity in point of matter, and elegance in reference to its form. It is written in the way of dialogue, in which the characters are sustained with great dignity and spirit; he shews the Prince, that it is absolutely necessary for one of his condition to have a good understanding in the laws, and a just regard for them too, in order to make himself easy, and to keep up the reverence due to them amongst the people; he demonstrates the advantage of a constitution governed by stated laws, in making of which the subject has an interest; beyond that of a government, depending on the absolute pleasure of a Prince. He puts proper objections into the mouth of his pupil, and proposes them with a great air of freedom, and then he resolves them briefly, decently, and with much perspicuity; he observes, that what was requisite for a Prince to know in these matters, lay within a narrow compass, and that there is no reason he should apprehend any thing, either tedious or difficult, in acquiring such knowledge. Our author then proceeds to prove, that the common law is the most rational, as well as the most antient, in Europe. That the conviction of criminals by juries, and without racking, is more just and humane than the methods of neighbouring nations; our challenging of panels, writs of attain upon corrupt verdicts, and the usual wealth of our juries, such securities to the lives and property of the subject, as other countries are incapable of affording; that our Kings are greater and more potent in the liberties and properties of their people, than arbitrary tyrants in the vassalage of their

slaves; that the civil law is more unreasonable than our's in the legitimation of children born before marriage, as also in its axioms, *partus sequitur ventrem*, tuition of orphans, &c.

One of the objections proposed by the Prince in this treatise is, that notwithstanding the excellency of the English laws, yet some of the Kings, his predecessors, had been desirous of introducing the civil law; of which, therefore, he desires to know the reason. The Chancellor tells his Highness, that he need not be at a loss, since Princes might be easily conceived willing enough to change the laws of England, because of their binding alike upon them and their subjects; for the Civil law built upon a principle directly opposite, *quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*, that the will of the Prince shall have the force of a law.—The reason why Sir John Fortescue was so desirous of shewing to the young Prince the superior excellence of the common law of England to the civil laws, was, according to Lord Coke, because in the earlier part of King Henry the Sixth's reign, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, had endeavoured to bring in the civil laws instead of the common law of the kingdom. And we are also told, that King Henry the Sixth's Queen, Margaret, coming from a country where an arbitrary government prevailed, in order to raise her own power, insisted, and infused into her favourites, that the Duke of Gloucester's administration, according to the strictness of the national laws, was mean, and below the dignity of that sovereign power and dominion which the Civil law conferred on the King's person; and therefore she countenanced such proceedings as looked imperious, and absolved from all restriction.—It has been justly observed, that it would

worth. And though it did not answer the purpose for which it was originally designed, on account of the untimely death of the young Prince for whose particular use it was written, it will nevertheless remain a lasting monument of Sir John Fortescue's regard to the liberties and free constitution of his country. And it is certain, that he could not have done a greater service, to a Prince who had a prospect of ascending the Throne of England, than by inculcating such principles as are contained in his treatise. For there is no rock on which an English Prince is more likely to split, nor indeed on which he would deserve sooner to split, than a design of subverting the laws, and rendering himself arbitrary.

When the Earl of Warwick had obliged King Edward IV. to leave the kingdom, and had replaced Henry VI. on the Throne, Queen Margaret, and the adherents of the Lancaster family, were encouraged to return into England. Accordingly, on the 14th of April, 1471, that Prince, together with Prince Edward, Sir John Fortescue, the Duke of Exeter, and Lord Wenlock, and a small body of French forces, landed at Weymouth in Dorsetshire. But soon after their arrival, they received the unwelcome and unexpected news that the Earl of Warwick was slain, and his army defeated, that very day, at Barnet, by King Edward, who had now returned again into England; and that King Henry was once more a prisoner.

This was a fatal stroke to the Lancastrian party; and Queen Margaret was overwhelmed with grief, consternation, and despair; and she at length took sanctuary with her son in the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire. However, her spirits were somewhat recruited, when she saw herself joined by the Earls of Pembroke and Devonshire, and many others, who exhorted her still to hope for success. Accordingly she advanced through the counties of Devon and Somerset, encreasing her army on every day's march, and at last arrived at Tewksbury in Gloucestershire, where she was overtaken by King Edward. In consequence of which, a battle was fought on the 4th of May, which was very bloody; but at length ended in the total defeat of the Queen's army, the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Wenlock being

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would be well if the Nobility, and persons of rank and fortune, would see their children properly instructed in the grounds and principles of the laws of their country, in the manner Sir John Fortescue recommends to Prince Edward; and, indeed, it seems to be a necessary part of a just education, for those who may have seats in the great Council of the nation, or who may be appointed to exercise offices of importance in the state.

This treatise of Sir John Fortescue's has been several times printed, in Latin only, in Latin and English, and in English only. The first Edition was in the reign of King Henry VIII. and in 1616, an Edition of it in Latin and English was published by the learned Mr. Selden. But a more valuable Edition was published at London in 1732, and again in 1741.

ing killed in the field, and Queen Margaret and her son, Prince Edward, taken prisoners. About three thousand of the Lancastrians fell in this battle; and the Duke of Somerset, with some other persons of distinction, having taken shelter in a church, were surrounded, dragged out, and immediately beheaded. But Queen Margaret, Sir John Fortescue, and several others, had their lives given them. However, some time after the battle, the unfortunate Prince Edward was barbarously murdered in cool blood (†).

The tragical death of this young Prince must certainly have been a great shock to Sir John Fortescue, who had taken so much pains to form his mind, and render him worthy of a Throne. However, our venerable Chancellor, seeing the affairs of the House of Lancaster entirely overturned, found it necessary to reconcile himself as well as he could to the victorious Edward IV. from whom he had received his life and liberty. And in order to facilitate this, he wrote a kind of apology for his own conduct; which treatise, though it has never been published, Mr. Selden had seen, as he tells us in his preface to our author's book, *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*. And it is conjectured that King Edward restored Sir John Fortescue to his estate, which was of the value of four hundred pounds a year.

But notwithstanding these extraordinary changes, both of masters and fortunes, Sir John Fortescue still preserved his old principles with regard to the English constitution. This appears evidently from another learned and valuable work of his, written in the English language, and first published in the reign of Queen Anne, under the following title: "The difference between an *absolute* and *limited* Monarchy, as it more particularly regards the English constitution; being a treatise, written by Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Lord Chief Justice, and Lord

(†) Sir Richard Crofts presented young Edward unto the King, whom with a stern countenance he a while beheld, and as sternly demanded, "How he durst so presumptuously, with banner displayed, enter into his realm?" Whereunto the Prince made this reply; "To recover (said he) my father's kingdoms, and his most rightful inheritance, possessed by his father and grandfather, and from him immediately belonging unto me. How darest thou, then, which art his subject, display thy colour against him, thy Liege-Lord?" Which answer moved King Edward so much, as with his gauntlet he dashed the Prince on the mouth, whom Richard, Duke of Gloucester, with others of the

King's servants, most shamefully murdered, even in his presence, and at his feet: whose body was buried without any solemnity, among other poor and mean persons, in the church of the monastery of the Black Friars in Tewksbury.—SPENCER.

A few days after the battle of Tewksbury, the unfortunate King Henry VI. expired in his confinement in the Tower. And it was generally believed, and it is affirmed by some of our historians, that the Duke of Gloucester kissed him with his own hands. His Queen, Margaret of Anjou, was confined in the Tower for the space of four years, at the end of which time she was ransomed for fifty thousand crowns by Lewis XI. She died in 1432.

“ Lord High Chancellor of England, under King Henry VI.
 “ Faithfully transcribed from the manuscript copy in the Bod-
 “ leian Library, and collated with three other manuscripts.
 “ Published with some remarks, by John Fortescue Aland, of
 “ the Inner Temple, Esq; F. R. S. *Lond.* 1714. 8vo.” It ap-
 pears plainly from the piece itself, that this was written after our
 author was pardoned by Edward IV.

This treatise is divided into twenty chapters. In the first, he
 shews the difference between an absolute and a limited Monar-
 chy, which he very plainly and sensibly places in a King's ruling
 by laws of his own making, which he calls *Dominium Regale*; and in a Prince's governing by laws made with the consent of
 his subjects, which he calls *Dominium Politicum et Regale*. In the
 second chapter, he points out the means by which these differ-
 ences in government grew; and this he does with great per-
 spicuity and sagacity. He supposes, that in rougher and more
 barbarous times, such as had followers, and power, made use of
 them to settle principalities, and so ruled their people when
 settled as they did before, *that is*, by their mere will and plea-
 sure. But when men were become milder and more civilized,
 he thinks they chose their own Governors, and prescribed the
 terms upon which they would be governed. He then endea-
 vours to shew, that there never was such a thing as absolute go-
 vernment established in this island. The business of his third
 chapter, is to shew the fruits of an absolute, and of a limited
 government. He instances, as to the former, in France; and
 shews that the Government became absolute there by our inva-
 sions, when their Kings, pleading necessity for raising supplies,
 and the impossibility of calling their estates, took thence occa-
 sion to tax the common people at their pleasure; whence had
 arisen their poverty and distressed condition, which he largely
 and pathetically describes. And he deduces the power and
 strength of the English nation, from their living under a limited
 form of government; which enabled them not only to defend
 themselves, but to conquer their neighbours. And thus, says
 he, we may judge of the nature of Governments by our Sa-
 viour's rule, *By their fruits shall ye know them*.

In the fourth chapter of this treatise, Sir John Fortescue
 shews how the French King's revenues come to be double to
 that of the King of England; because, says he, the French King
 takes what he pleases, and the King of England what his people
 will please to give him. In the thirteenth chapter he labours
 to prove, that the only reason why the French do not rebel, is
 their want of courage; and upon this he advances a very odd
 fact, that there were more men hanged in a year in England,
 for robbery and manslaughter, than in seven years in France for
 the same crimes. He says, that in Scotland there was hardly a
 man hanged for robbery once in seven years; but, in England,
 says he, if a man be very poor, and see another very rich,
 whom

whom he may despoil by force, he will not fail to do so. In France, therefore, says he, it is not their poverty, but their want of heart, that keeps men from rising. In the twentieth and last chapter, he demonstrates the expediency of the King's bestowing no gifts but by letters patent under his Great Seal, by and with the advice of his Privy Council; which, as he judiciously observes, would not only prevent improper and excessive gifts, but also save the King the trouble of denying, or at least his being exposed to unseemly and importunate solicitations.

It has been justly observed of this treatise of Sir John Fortescue's, that take it all together, it will appear to be a work which affords as full evidence of the learning, wisdom, uprightness, and public spirit of its author, as any that is extant, either in our's or in any modern language. And which, as it is illustrated with the learned judge Fortescue's (*) notes, may certainly be of very great use to all who are inclined to study the original and true foundation of our laws and constitution.

No account is transmitted down to us of the remaining part of Sir John Fortescue's life, which was probably spent in an honourable retirement in the country, free from the cares, and remote from the dangers of a Court. Neither is any exact account preserved of his death. We are only told, in general, that he was near ninety years of age when he died; which the circumstances of his life render very probable. His remains were interred in the parish church of Ebburton, or Ebrighton, in Gloucestershire, where he had purchased an estate. His son and heir, Martin Fortescue, Esq; espoused the daughter of Richard Denfell, of Filleigh, by whom he had two sons; and in her right was seated at Filleigh in Devonshire.

It is truly said by Lord Fortescue of our Chancellor, that "all good men and lovers of the English constitution speak of him with honour; and that he still lives, in the opinion of all true Englishmen, in as high esteem and reputation, as any Judge that ever sat in Westminster-Hall. He was a man acquainted with all sorts of learning, besides his knowledge in the law; in which he was exceeded by none, as will appear by the many judgments he gave when on the bench, in the year book of Henry VI. His character in history is that of pious, loyal, and learned; and he had the honour to be called the chief Counsellor of the King. He was a great Courtier, and yet a great lover of his country." We are told by Bale, upon the credit of Robert Record, a very sensible and learned man, and one well acquainted with the personal history of English scholars and statesmen, as well as with the civil history of the English nation,

(*) Mr. John Fortescue Aland, Judges of the Court of King's Bench, editor of this treatise of Chancellor and afterwards created Lord Fortescue's, was made one of the cue, of the kingdom of Ireland.

tion, that Sir John Fortescue, through the whole course of his life, was a great lover of polite literature. And his writings plainly shew that he was a man of general learning, and of great reading for those times; for we find him quoting Aristotle, Tully, Quintilian, Boetius, St. Austin, Aquinas, Egidius, Romanus, Parisiensis, and many other good authors; but he was far from drawing all his knowledge from books; he gathered much from his own experience, and was very communicative with respect to the fruits of it. Sir Edward Coke, who often mentions Sir John Fortescue, and always with applause, tells us, that besides his profound knowledge in the law, he was also an excellent Antiquary. And the same great lawyer assures us, that there are some particular chapters in our author's treatise *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, which are so excellent, that they deserve to be written in letters of gold.

It has been justly said of Sir John Fortescue, that as adversity could not break, so prosperity could not corrupt him. When King Henry the Sixth, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, made another Sheriff for the county of Lincoln, than the statute warranted, the two chief Justices, Sir John Fortescue, and Sir John Prisot, declared publicly for themselves and their brethren, *that the King therein did an error*. And that true Patriot, and most judicious historian, Sir Walter Raleigh, speaking of our author, styles him, *That notable Bulwark of our Laws*. And, indeed, he had just reason to do so; for no author has taken more pains than Sir John Fortescue, to secure the laws against the ambition of Princes, as well as the passions and vices of private men.

It appears that Sir John Fortescue wrote many other pieces besides those we have already mentioned; some of which are probably lost, but others have been carefully preserved in libraries, and are still extant under the following titles, though they have never been printed:

1. *Opusculum de natura Legis Naturæ, et de ejus censura in Successione Regnorum Supremorum*. THAT IS, "A short Treatise of the nature of the Law of Nature, and its influence in the succession of independent Sovereignities."—Mr. Waterhouse, in his commentary on Fortescue, mentions this work under the character of an *excellent Treatise*; a book of worth and weight, purposely penned to set forth to the Prince the just measure of government, according to the law of nature and nations.

2. *A Defence of the House of Lancaster*.

3. *Genealogy of the House of Lancaster*.

4. *Of the Title of the House of York*.

5. *Genealogiæ Regum Scotiæ*.

6. *A Dialogue between Understanding and Faith*.

7. *A Prayer Book, which savoureth much of the times we live in,*

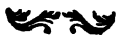
It has been justly observed, that it would be a great benefit to the learned world, if all Sir John Fortescue's manuscripts were printed; for he was a man of general knowledge, great observation, and one who has given many useful notices, in relation to the dark parts of our history and antiquities.

In the parish church of Ebrighton, in Gloucestershire, where our author was buried, there was a monument erected for him in the chancel; probably soon after his interment, by the appearance of its antiquity and workmanship; and on this old tomb lies his effigies, at full length, in free-stone, in his robes. On the ends and sides are the Fortescue's Arms; and over this tomb a table of marble was fastened, in 1677, at the expence of Colonel Robert Fortescue, of Weare and Filleigh, our author's direct heir, with an inscription in Latin, of which the following is the translation:

TO

The happy and immortal Memory,
Of that most Famous Man,
SIR JOHN FORTESCUE;
An ancient Knight, Chief Justice of England,
And in process of time under Henry VI.
And Prince Edward, High Chancellor;
Of the King, the most prudent Counsellor;
In the Laws of England, profoundly learned;
And of those Laws also
A Champion,
Invincible;
Whose earthly Remains in expectation of
A joyful Resurrection,
Are here deposited;
This Marble Monument
Is erected,
MDCLXXVII.
By the direction, and at the expence of
ROBERT FORTESCUE, Esq;
The direct heir of this Family, lately deceased.

Of him, who justice could the best explain,
This little URN doth all that's left contain.
His country's living Law, that Law's great light,
The scourge of wrong, and the defence of right,
His birth distinguish'd, merit gave him state,
Learning, applause, but virtue made him great.
Through darkness now a carbuncle he shines,
Nor wisdom's rays the gloomy grave confines;
To latest times shall FORTESCUE be known,
And in the LAWS just PRAISE be read his own.



The Life of Sir THOMAS LYTTLETON, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

THOMAS LYTTLETON was the eldest son of Thomas Westcote, of the county of Devon, Esq; by Elizabeth, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Lyttleton, or Lyttleton, of Frankley in Worcestershire. He took his mother's surname, Lyttleton, in consequence of an agreement which his father made previous to his marriage (*w*). He was educated at one of the Universities, and afterwards removed to the Inner Temple, and applied himself with great diligence to the study of the law. And he here greatly distinguished himself in his profession, by his learned lectures on the statute of Westminster, *de donis conditionalibus*, concerning conditional gifts. He was afterwards made by King Henry VI. Steward or Judge of the Court of the Palace, or Marshalsea of the King's Household; and on the 13th of May, 1455, in the thirty-third year of that reign, King's Serjeant; and in this capacity rode the northern circuit, as Judge of the assize.

When Edward the Fourth was raised to the Throne, our author was Sheriff of Worcestershire, and receiving a pardon from that Prince, was continued in his post of King's Serjeant, and also in that of Justice of assize for the same circuit. And in the sixth year of that reign, 1466, he was appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and rode the Northamptonshire circuit; and as a mark of Royal favour, obtained a writ directed to the Commissioners of the Customs for the ports of London, Bristol, and Kingston upon Hull, for the annual payment of 110 marks to support his dignity, with 106 shillings and eleven-pence half-penny, to furnish him with a furred robe,

6.

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(*w*) Elizabeth Lyttleton being fair, and of a noble spirit, and having large possessions and inheritance from her ancestors de Lyttleton, and from her mother, the daughter and heiress of Richard de Quatermains, and other her ancestors, resolved to continue the honour of her name. And therefore prudently, whilst it was in her own power, provided by Westcote's assent before marriage, that her issue inheritable should be called by the name of Lyttleton, — *Coke's*

Pref. to the first part of his Institutes, 2d Edit.

There is a tradition, that the three brothers of our Judge, whose names were Nicholas, Edmund, and Guy, wrote their paternal name, *Westcote*; which their mother once taking exception at, and asking them, whether they thought themselves better than their eldest brother? they replied, "He altered his name to inherit a fair estate; which, if they might share with him, they could do the same."

robe, and six shillings and six-pence more, for another robe called *Linura*.

On the 18th of April, 1475, a creation being made of Knights of the honourable Order of the Bath, our Judge was amongst the number. That Order was likewise conferred at the same time upon the King's eldest son Edward, Prince of Wales; on the Duke of York; the Duke of Suffolk; the Earl of Shrewsbury; the Earl of Wiltshire; Lord Nevil; Vaughan Brian, Chief Justice of England; and eighteen others. And in the possession of his new dignity, we will leave our Judge for a short space, in order to take a view of a remarkable national transaction at this period.

King Edward IV. having now restored the peace of his Kingdom, and being firmly seated on the Throne, had formed a design of revenging himself on the French, for the trouble they had given him; and accordingly a fair occasion was offered for this, by the breaking out of a war between Lewis XI. and Charles, Duke of Burgundy. About the middle, therefore, of this year, 1475, King Edward went over to Calais, with a considerable army, attended by a fleet of five hundred sail (*). The English, at first, talked of nothing less than the conquest of France; but when Edward, upon taking the field, found that his allies did not afford him that assistance which he expected, he was the more easily prevailed on to enter into a negotiation with Lewis, who made very liberal offers and concessions; and discovered by many acts such a terror at the English name, as might, it has been observed, serve instead of many victories (y). Accordingly the treaty of Amiens was concluded,

(*) It is justly observed by the judicious Dr. Campbell, in his very valuable Naval History, that 'This sufficiently shews the great maritime strength of England in these times, when the King, after such an unsettled state, & so many revolutions as had lately happened, was able, in a year's space, to undertake such an expedition as this, and with so great a force.'

(y) When Edward sent a Herald to the French King, to demand the Crown of France, and to carry him a defiance in case of refusal, Lewis answered him in a very mild and gentle manner, gave the Herald three hundred crowns and thirty ells of crimson velvet, and promised him a thousand crowns more when a peace should be concluded. He afterwards sent an Herald to the English camp; and giving him directions to apply to the Lords Stanley and Howard, who, he understood, were friends to peace,

he desired the good offices of those Noblemen, in promoting an accommodation with their master. Lewis seemed very anxious to gain not only Edward's friendship, but also that of the English nation, and of all the considerable persons in the English Court. He bestowed pensions, to the amount of sixteen thousand crowns a year, on several of Edward's favourites. And as the English and French armies remained some time in the neighbourhood of each other, after the conclusion of the treaty, Lewis even courted the friendship of the common soldiers. He caused the gates of Amiens to be thrown open for the admission of the English, and all the inn-keepers of the place to treat the men at his expence; and he even sent three hundred waggon loads of wine to Edward's camp, as a present to the army.

cluded, in which the French King stipulated to pay Edward immediately seventy-five thousand crowns, on condition that he should withdraw his army from France: Lewis also agreed to pay him fifty thousand crowns a year, during their joint lives (x); and it was added, that the Dauphin, when of age, should marry Edward's eldest daughter Elizabeth, and settle fifty thousand livres a year upon her as a jointure. And soon after the conclusion of this treaty, King Edward, with his army, came over again into England.

Bat, to return to Sir Thomas Lyttleton. He married Johanna, relict of Sir Philip Chetwyn, by whom he had three sons, William, Richard, and Thomas. These all married advantageously during Sir Thomas's life-time; "he advanced his posterity (says Lord Chief Justice Coke), and his posterity, by imitation of his virtues, have honoured him (a)." It was for the use of his second son, Richard, whom he bred to the law, and others of the same profession, that he wrote his famous Treatise of the Tenures or Titles by which all estates were antiently held in England. A work for which his memory must ever challenge respect and veneration, from all the students and professors of the law. Sir Edward Coke, in his preface to the first part of his Institutes, which is only a comment on this work of Sir Thomas Lyttleton's, says, "That which we have formerly written, that this book is the Ornament of the Common Law, and the most perfect and absolute work that ever was written in any human science; and in another place, that which I affirmed, and took upon me to maintain, against all opposites whatsoever, that it is a work of as absolute perfection in its kind, and as free from error, as any book that I have known to be written of any human learning, shall to the diligent and observing reader of these Institutes be made manifest.—His greatest commendation, because it is of greatest profit to us, is, that by this excellent

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"work,

(x) Much dispute hath arisen, whether this annuity agreed to be paid to Edward, was a *pension* or a *tribute*. Mr. Guthrie says, (*Hist. Eng.* V. ii. P. 728) "The English have, I think, with the strongest reason, given the annuity which Lewis was to pay, the name of a *tribute*. The French term it a *pension*; but a pension for what? That France might be freed from the terror of English arms. Lewis could have no other motive for agreeing to this demand; and the punctual payment of it from a Prince so faithless as Lewis was, even after the immediate danger was over, plainly brings

it under the denomination of a tribute. The different sounds can never alter the nature of the thing; nor is it to be supposed, that any other motive besides that of fear, could prevail with Lewis to grant such a sum, to a Power which he had reason to hate. And this is the strongest proof, that the money was actually paid as a tribute."

(a) It is from our Judge's eldest son, Sir William Lyttleton, that a Nobleman now living, who is deservedly celebrated for his genius and abilities, derives his pedigree in a direct line of nine degrees,

“ work, which he had studiously learned of others, he faithfully taught all the professors of the law in succeeding ages.---The victory is not great to overthrow his opposites; for there never was any learned man in the law, that understood our author, but concurred with me in his commendation (b).”

Sir Thomas Lyttleton continued in the favour and esteem both of his Sovereign and all others, for his great skill in the laws
of

(b) Our Judge wrote this celebrated work, which he addressed to his son, Richard Lyttleton, to explain (as he himself says) some chapters in the antient book of Tenures, which was written in the reign of Edward III. That author treated of them promiscuously, making twenty-five different Tenures, viz. Knight's Service, Grand Serjeantry, Petty Serjeantry, Escuage, Homage Ancestral, Tenant by the courtesy of England, Fee Simple, Frank Tenure, Dower, For years by Lease or Grant, Mortgage, Burgage, Socage, Fee Farm or Freehold, Frank-Fee, Base-Fee, Villenage, Fee-Tail, Frank Marriage, Frank-Almoin, Tenant by Elegit, Tenant by Statute Merchant, Frank Farm, Rents of Inheritance, and Suit.-----These several Tenures Judge Lyttleton methodized and digested into order, and commented on; his work being divided into three books: in the first of which, he treats of the nature of inheritances, which he divides into seven general heads, Fee-simple, Fee-tail, Tenant by the courtesy of England, Tenant in Dower, For term of life, for term of years, and at Will; with their several subdivisions, and the legal requisites to constitute each. In the second he treats in the same manner of the Tenures by which they are severally held; as Homage, Fealty, Escuage, Knights Service, Socage, Frank-Almoin, Homage Ancestral, Grand Serjeantry, Burgage, and Villenage. And in the third book he treats of their qualities and incidents, mischiefs, and remedies, under several heads.

Of all the different Tenures by which estates were antiently held in England, Villenage was the lowest and basest. The tenant holding under the title, and on condition of performing all low and mean services for the Lord, without whose leave he could never, in his own right, possess any other lands or chattels, real or

personal; and was even obliged to pay a fine for liberty to marry his children, who were confined to the same degree, nor could ever by any act of their own, except entering into a religious life, free themselves from that state of servitude. But though the Tenure of Villenage, still remains by custom in some places, yet there are now no villains, properly such by the law in England at this time; but all are born free.

Sir Edward Coke says, that though Sir Thomas Lyttleton, in his Treatise of Tenures, cites many authorities, yet he holdeth no opinion in any of them, but is proved and approved by these two faithful witnesses in matter of Law, Authority and Reason. Certain it is, says he, when he raiseth any question, and sheweth the reason on both sides, the latter opinion is his own, and is consonant to Law. We have known, adds this great Lawyer, many of his cases drawn in question, but could never find any judgment given against any of them; which we cannot affirm of any other book, or edition of our law.

Lord Chief Justice Coke also particularly observes, that Judge Lyttleton excelled as a pleader, and was learned in that art, which is so necessary to a complete Lawyer, Logic; which, says he, you shall perceive by reading of these Institutes, wherein are observed his syllogisms, inductions, and other arguments; and his definitions, descriptions, divisions, etymologies, derivations, significations, and the like. Certain it is, adds Sir Edward, that when a great learned man, who is long in making, dieth, much learning dieth with him.

It is supposed, that Sir Thomas Lyttleton's Treatise of Tenures was printed at Rohan, being written in French, before the year 1487; but Coke was of opinion it was not printed till 1533.

of England, till his death, which happened on the 23d day of August, 1481, in a great and good old age. He made his will the day before his death, appointing his three sons, a Parson, a Vicar, and one of his servants, executors, and Dr. John Alcock, of Cambridge, the then Bishop of Worcester (c), Supervisor of the same. He was honourably interred in the cathedral church of Worcester, where a marble tomb, with his statue thereon, was erected to his memory; and his picture was also placed in the churches of Frankley and Hales-Owen.

Sir William Lyttleton, our Judge's eldest son, lived many years in great splendor at Frankley; for his mother, who survived the Judge, left him large possessions. He died in 1508, and was buried in the great church of the abbey of Hales-Owen (d).

Richard Lyttleton, the Judge's second son, to whom he addressed his Treatise of *Tenures*, was an eminent Lawyer in the reigns of King Henry VII. and Henry VIII. He married Alice, daughter and sole heiress of William Winbury, or Winnesbury, of Pilleton Hall, in the county of Stafford, Esq;

The

(c) JOHN ALCOCK was born at Beverly in Yorkshire, educated at Cambridge, and had the degree of Doctor of laws conferred on him. He was advanced to the Deanery of Westminster, and afterwards to the post of Master of the Rolls. In 1471, he was consecrated Bishop of Rochester; in 1476, translated to the See of Worcester; and, in 1486, by a second translation, removed to that of Ely. This Prelate was so highly esteemed by King Henry VII. that he appointed him to be Lord President of Wales, and afterwards Lord High Chancellor of England. He founded a school at Kingdon upon Hull, and a chapel on the south side of the church, in which his parents were buried. He built the beautiful and spacious hall belonging to the episcopal palace at Ely, and made great improvements in all his other Palaces. He also founded Jesus College in Cambridge, for a master, six fellows, and as many scholars. This house was formerly a nunnery dedicated to St. Radigund; but the nuns of that house, we are told, were so notorious for their incontinence, and so generally complained of, that King Henry VII. and Pope Julius II. consented to its dissolution; whereupon Bishop Alcock, obtaining a grant thereof from the King, converted it into a College, and dedicated it to the ho-

nour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, and St. Radigund.

Bishop Alcock was esteemed a Prelate of great piety, and wrote several pieces; particularly the following:

1. *Mons Perfectionis*; i. e. The Mount of Perfection.
2. *In Psalmos penitenciales*; i. e. On the penitential Psalms.
3. *Homiliae Vulgares*; i. e. Vulgar Homilies.
4. *Meditationes pie*; i. e. Pious Meditations.

This Prelate died October 1, 1500, and was buried in the chapel he had built at Kingdon upon Hull.

(d) John Lyttleton, who was immediately descended from this Sir William Lyttleton, and who was, as Camden says, a man of great sense and judgment, and equally qualified for the cabinet and camp, was a zealous follower of the famous Robert, Earl of Essex, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was by that means involved in that Nobleman's misfortunes. Accordingly he was condemned to die for being concerned in Essex's conspiracy against the Queen; but was reprieved for life by the interest of Sir Walter Raleigh, and, his children being afterwards restored in blood, by King James, Sir Thomas, the

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The Judge's third son, Thomas Lyttleton, settled at Speckley, and siding with Henry VII. when Lord Lincoln entered England with an army in favour of Lambert Simnel, the pretended Earl of Warwick, he was knighted by the King two days after the battle of Stoke, which put an end to that imposture.

the eldest, was created a Knight and Baronet in 1618. It was John and Thomas, the first and fourth sons of this gentleman, who were unfortunately drowned at Oxford in 1635. They were students of Magdalen College, and lie buried in that chapel, under a beautiful monument erected by their father, who also wrote the Latin inscription; the purport of which is, that as they were innocently walking in the field, a slippery foot cast the younger, his piety the elder, (hoping to save his brother) into the river, where earnestly embracing, and each by turns exerting his utmost ability in the unhappy

union, death, by a hard and too sudden fate, in one instant swallowed both. The eldest of these two unfortunate youths was seventeen years of age, and the youngest only thirteen. The celebrated Cowley, who was then at Westminster school, and seventeen years old, wrote an elegy on the eldest of these two brothers, which is to be found in his works, under the following title: "An
" Elegy on the death of John Lyt-
" tleton, Esq; son and heir to Sir
" Thomas Lyttleton, who was
" drowned leaping into the water
" to save his younger brother."



The Life of Sir ANTHONY WIDVILLE, Lord Scales and Newfells, and Earl Rivers.

ANTHONY WIDVILLE was son to Sir Richard Widville, by Jaqueline of Luxemburgh, Dutcheſs Dowager of Bedford. In 1459, when he was about ſeventeen years of age, he accompanied his father, who was now created Lord Rivers, to Sandwich. Lord Rivers was ſent to that port with orders to equip a ſtrong ſquadron, in order to deprive Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, of his government of Calais. But when theſe ſhips were almoſt ready, that Nobleman ſent Sir John Dineham, an officer of his, who ſurprized Lord Rivers in port, and carried away him and all his ſhips, together with his ſon Anthony, to Calais, where they were for ſome time detained as priſoners (c).

Thus it appears that Anthony Widville, with his father, Lord Rivers, were early engaged in the intereſt of the Houſe of Lancaſter, and in oppoſition to that of York. But King Edward IV. being raiſed to the Throne, and afterwards eſpouſing Lady Elizabeth Gray, daughter to Lord Rivers, and ſiſter to Anthony Widville, a more particular account of which is given in the life

(c) The ſame year in which this tranſaction happened, 1459, Sir JOHN FASTOLFF, Knight and Knight-Banneret, a valiant General, (whom we have before occaſionally mentioned, in our Life of Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury), died upwards of fourſcore years of age, and was buried with great ſolemnity in a chapel of his own building, at the abbey church of St. Bennet, at the Holm in Norwich. He was the ſon of John Faſtolf, Eſq; of Yarmouth; but his father dying before he was of age, he became ward to ſome great Nobleman; and it is ſaid, that he was trained up, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, in the Norfolk family. About the year 1401, Thomas of Lancaſter, afterwards Duke of Clarence, and ſecond ſon of King

Henry IV. was ſent Lord-Lieutenant into Ireland, and it is ſuppoſed that Faſtolf attended him; for it appears, that he was with him in 1403 and 1406. And in 1408 he was married to a rich young widow of quality in that kingdom; ſoon after which, receiving ſome conſiderable poſts of truſt in Gaſcony, he betook himſelf to reſide there. In 1415, Sir John Faſtolf was entrusted, in conjunction with the Earl of Dorſet, with the government of Harflour. And it appears that he was preſent at the battle of Agincourt, where he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. After the death of Henry V. he was appointed by the Regent, the Duke of Bedford, grand maſter of his houſhold, and Senſchal of Normandy. And in 1423 he was conſtituted

and workmanship cost two hundred marks ; besides sumptuous and costly galleries for the Nobility, and other persons, of both sexes.

On the day appointed, King Edward, with his Nobility, the Ladies of the Court, and persons of both sexes of all ranks, being assembled to see this martial entertainment, Lord Scales entered the field with great pomp, attended by nine Noblemen, who bore his weapons. After him the Bastard also entered the field, with seven followers, his pages on horseback, and Noblemen bearing his arms, all richly adorned. When the encounter began, the first day, according to Stow, they ran together with sharp spears, and parted with equal honour. The next day they encountered on horseback ; but the spike in the front of Lord Scales's horse having run into the nostril of the Bastard's horse, he reared so at an end, that both he and his rider fell to the ground. Upon this the Lord Scales rode about his antagonist with his sword drawn in his hand, till the King commanded the Marshal to help up the Bastard, who openly said, " I cannot hold me by the clouds ; for though my horse fail me, I will not fail my encounter-companion." But the King would not suffer them to fight any more that day ; and it is said the Bastard refused to encounter again on horseback. The third day the two combatants came into the field on foot ; but the King, we are told, forbade the perilous spears that were brought for them, it being but an act of sport. They fought, however, valiantly with pole-axes ; but, at last, the point of the pole-axe of Lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the Bastard's helm, and he might by force have plucked him on his knees ; but the King suddenly cast down his warder, and then the Marshal separated them. The Bastard, not content with

his generous spirit, to the last. It appears that at the time of his death, which, as we have before observed, happened in 1459, he was possessed of very considerable lands and estates in Norfolk, Suffolk, Yorkshire, and Wiltshire.

Shakespeare has been much censured by some writers, for perverting, they say, with an unaccountable licence, the character of this great and good man, under his Sir John Falstaff ; while others will not allow, that he had any view of drawing Sir John Falstaff from any part of Sir John Fastolf's character. These latter urge, as arguments for their side of the question, the difference of names, a difference in their ages, and above all, that this character of Sir John Falstaff was written and acted originally under the name of Sir John

Oldcastle ; with whom, however, the character will no better agree, except as to age, than with Sir John Fastolf. This, however, is certain, that nothing can be more different than the characters of Shakespeare's Falstaff and the real Fastolf. The Poet's Falstaff is an old, humorous, boasting, cowardly, lewd, lying, drunken debauchee ; while the real Sir John Fastolf was a grave, discreet, valiant, chaste, and sober Commander, continually advanced to honours and places of profit, for his brave and politic achievements, military and civil ; and who, when finally settled at home, was constantly exercised in acts of hospitality, munificence, and charity ; and was also a generous patron of worthy and learned men.

with this chance, demanded of the King that he might be suffered to perform his enterprize. Lord Scales did not decline this ; but the King, calling to him the Constable and Marshal, with the officers at arms and holding a consultation with them, it was declared for a definitive sentence by the Constable and Marshal, That if he would go forward with his attempted challenge, he must, by the law of arms, be delivered to his antagonist in the same state and condition as he was when he was taken from him. The Bastard, hearing this judgment, doubted, says Stow, the sequel of the matter, and so relinquished his challenge. However, the King commanded the combatants to shake hands, and respect one another as brothers in arms ; which they did, in the middle of the field, and so departed. And thus ended this magnificent and martial solemnity. Lord Scales, however, acquired great fame by these feats of chivalry.

When every thing was adjusted relative to the marriage of the Duke of Burgundy with the Lady Margaret, Lord Scales accompanied that Princess to Sluys, where the nuptials were consummated. And King Edward having engaged to send three thousand men to the assistance of the Duke of Brittany, Lord Scales received a commission to command those succours, which was dated at Westminster the 7th of October, 1468. In 1469, Lord Scales became Earl Rivers, in consequence of the tragical death of his father ; that Nobleman, together with his son, Sir John Widville, being seized at Grafton by a party of rebels, and conveyed from thence to Northampton, and there beheaded ; at the instigation, as it was strongly suspected, of the Earl of Warwick and his party, to whom the Widville family were now become exceedingly obnoxious.

In 1470, Earl Rivers was sent to sea with a strong squadron, to oppose any attempt which might be made upon the kingdom by the Lancastrian party ; and he prevented the adherents of the Earl of Warwick, and the Duke of Clarence, from seizing a great ship called the Trinity, belonging to Southampton. But when in the same year King Edward was obliged by the Earl of Warwick to fly the kingdom, Earl Rivers attended him to Holland, together with Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Northumberland, and other persons of rank. And when Edward returned into England, Lord Rivers again accompanied him, and was present at the first interview between him and his brother the Duke of Clarence, on that Prince's leaving the Earl of Warwick (d). He had a great share in the victories of his brother-in-law, King Edward, after his return, and was consti-

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(d) " King Edward being then on till he came to a fair large field, three miles distant from Warwick, his brother of Clarence approached, towards Banbury, where he might in an afternoon issued forth of that behold his brother of Clarence, in town with all his forces, and passed a good array of battle, coming towards him.

tuted Governor of Calais, and of the castle of Guisnes, and Lieutenant of the Marches for seven years; and also Captain-General of the King's forces by sea and land.

In 1472, Earl Rivers was appointed one of the Ambassadors from King Edward to the Duke of Brittany, and in that character concluded a treaty with that Prince. And in the following year being informed there was to be a jubilee and pardon at St. James's in Spain, he determined upon a voyage thither; and accordingly in July, 1473, he set sail from Southampton; and was for some time, as Caxton expresses it, "ful virtuously occupied in goyng of pilgremagis to Seint James in Galice, to Rome, to Seint Bartylmew, to Seint Andrew, to Seint Mathew, in the royaulme of Napies; and to Seint Nicholas de Bar in Puyle, and other divers holy places. Also he procured and got of our holy Fader the Pope, a greet and large indulgence, and grace unto the chapel of our Lady of the Piewe, by Seint Stephen's at Westmenstre, for the relief and helpe of Cristen sowles passed out of this transitorie world." Caxton also, in the enumeration of Lord Rivers's titles, styles him, "Defenseur and Directeur of the causes Apostolique for our holy Fader the Pope in this royaulme of England;" which offices or titles were probably conferred upon him by his Holiness, when he visited Rome, in the course of these his pious pilgrimages.

When King Edward's eldest son was created Prince of Wales, Earl Rivers was appointed Governor to the young Prince, and also obtained the office of Chief Butler of England. And in 1477, the

him. When they were now within half a mile approached together, the King placed his people in order of battle under their banners, and so left them standing still, and appointed them to keep their ground; whilst he, taking with him his brother of Gloucester, the Lord Rivers, the Lord Hastings, and a few others, went forth to meet his brother of Clarence. And, in like sort, the Duke of Clarence took with him a few of the Nobility that were about him, and leaving his army in good order, departed from them to meet the King; and so they met between both the hosts, with so sweet salutations, loving demeanour, or good countenance, as better might not be devised between brethren of so high and noble estate. And, besides that, the like friendly entertainment, and courteous demeanour, appeared in the salutations of the other Noblemen that were on them attendant, whereof

all such as saw it and loved them, greatly rejoiced, giving God thanks for that joyful meeting, unity and concord appearing thus manifestly between them; and herewith the trumpets and other instruments sounded, and the King withal brought the Duke into his army, whom he saluting in most courteous wise, welcomed them into the land; and they, humbly thanking him, did to him such reverence as appertained. This done, the King, leaving his host again keeping their ground, with the same few persons which he took with him before, went with his brother of Clarence unto his army, and saluting them with sweet and courteous words, was joyfully of them welcomed; and so, after this, they all came together, joining in one, either part shewing themselves glad thus to meet as friends with the other."—*Hollinshed*.

the Queen, his sister, being very desirous of seeing her brother Rivers, who was now a widower, married to the young Dutchess of Burgundy, daughter and sole heiress to Charles, Duke of Burgundy, some overtures were made for that purpose; but they did not succeed, for Earl Rivers had very powerful rivals, among whom was the Duke of Clarence; however, the young Dutchess was at length married to Maximilian, Duke of Austria.

On the 21st of January, 1479, a commission was granted to Earl Rivers, together with the Earl of Essex, the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and Ely, and others, to treat with Charles de Martigny, the Ambassador of France; and these Commissioners concluded a treaty on the 15th of the February following, which prolonged the truce and the payment of the annuity of fifty thousand crowns, for the term of an hundred years; and Lewis continued the regular payment of this annuity to the 5th of August, 1482; though he always evaded the proper ratification of this treaty.

In 1482, a treaty of marriage was set on foot between Earl Rivers and the Princess Margaret, sister to James the Third, King of Scotland; and on the 22d of August that year, a safe conduct was granted for the Princess to come into England, with three hundred persons, to solemnize her intended nuptials with the Earl. And on the 14th of December, King Edward empowered the Bishop of Rochester and Sir Edward Widville, to consent, in his name, to the marriage of Earl Rivers with the Scottish Princess. But though every thing relative to this marriage appeared to be settled, it was never completed; which was, probably, partly owing to the misunderstandings which at this time subsisted between the two nations; but chiefly to the death of Edward, which happened on the 9th of April, 1483. Edward IV. was a Prince much addicted to his pleasures; but though he was often indolent and inactive in prosperity, he possessed great courage, and exerted himself with great vigour and activity when his affairs required it. He is, however, deservedly censured, for many acts of cruelty and inhumanity, with which his reign was disgraced (e).

Before King Edward died, his son the Prince of Wales had been sent to reside in Wales, under the tuition of his governor and

(e) It is observed that King Edward IV. endeavoured very much to maintain a good correspondence with the city of London, and to conciliate the affections of the citizens; and he found the good effects of this, both in prosperity and adversity. Communes attributes to this, Edward's restoration after the Earl of Warwick

had driven him out of his dominions.

But this Prince endeavoured to obtain the attachment of another body of men, the Ecclesiastics, by a method which might, perhaps, be politic, in his situation and circumstances; but which, notwithstanding, we can by no means applaud.

and uncle Earl Rivers. It was supposed that the presence of the young Prince might contribute to conciliate the affections of the Welsh, and to restore the tranquillity of that country, which had been disturbed by some late commotions. The person of the young Prince had been committed to the care of his uncle Rivers, not only on account of his affinity, but because the Earl was one of the most accomplished Noblemen in England, having united an uncommon taste in literature for that age, to great abilities in business, and valour in the field.

The Queen, upon the death of her husband King Edward, sent a messenger to her brother Earl Rivers, with the news of this important event; and a letter, in which she desired him to assemble a body of troops in Wales, and with them to bring the young King immediately to be crowned at London. But the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Hastings, who had long been at variance with the Queen and her relations, considered this procedure of the Queen's as intended to perpetuate the influence and authority of her and the Widville family. They, therefore, warmly opposed the design of levying forces to escort the King to London, which they represented as the signal for renewing a civil war in the kingdom. Lord Hastings threatened to depart immediately to his government of Calais; and others among the Nobility of the same party seemed determined to oppose force by force. And Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who now assumed a great appearance of regard and affection both for the Queen and the young King, under pretence of pacifying the quarrel, declared against all appearance of an armed Power, which, he said, might be dangerous, and was no way necessary. The Queen, therefore, trusting to the sincerity of Gloucester's professions of friendship, and over awed by the vigour of the opposition, immediately dispatched an order to Earl Rivers to *dismiss*

In 1462, he granted a charter to the Clergy of England, dated at Westminster, Nov. 2, in which it was declared, that the not suffering the Clergy to enjoy their privileges, was the reason of the many and great calamities with which the nation had been so long afflicted. For this reason he ordered, that, for the future, no Royal Officer or Magistrate should concern themselves with the *felonies, rapes*, and other transgressions of the Clergy: that every suit commenced by the King's Judges, against any member whatsoever of the body of the Clergy, should be looked upon as void; and that in such case the injunctions of Chancery should be of

no effect, notwithstanding the statute of Premunire.—Thus to answer their own private ends, did some of our Kings render of no effect those wise precautions which were taken by the Parliaments, to hinder the exorbitant increase of the power of the Clergy.

In Edward the Fourth's reign died JOHN HARDING, the Historian and Poet. He was born in the North of England; and was, we are told, an Esquire of an eminent parentage. He was a man addicted both to arms and arts: his first military exploit was under Robert Umfréville, Governor of Roxborough castle; and he greatly distinguished himself against

dismiss his troops, that they might give no cause of offence to the nation.

Accordingly Lord Rivers complied with this injunction; and soon after set out with the King for London, accompanied only by his ordinary attendants. The Duke of Gloucester, in the mean time, set out from York, attended by a numerous train; and when he reached Northampton, he was joined by the Duke of Buckingham, with whom he had before held private consultations, and who was also attended by a splendid retinue. Gloucester understood that the young King was expected to come that way, and therefore waited his arrival, under pretence of conducting him in person to London. When Edward and his attendants were arrived at Northampton, Gloucester observed, that as that town was crowded, and but ill supplied with provisions, the King would be better accommodated at Stony Stratford, about twelve miles further on the road to London. His proposal being approved of, the King proceeded to the proposed place; and Gloucester and Buckingham invited Earl Rivers to spend the evening with them at Northampton; which invitation he readily accepted, in hopes of encreasing their friendship and confidence. Accordingly, they passed a good part of the night with great seeming harmony and friendship. But when they were gone to bed, Gloucester and Buckingham seized the keys of the inn in which they were, and secured Lord Rivers's servants, and set guards upon the road between Northampton and Stony Stratford. But the Earl receiving information of their proceedings, went immediately to the Duke of Gloucester's chamber; where he found him and Buckingham, and others, in consultation together; upon which, enquiring into the meaning of their behaviour, they reproached him with a design of keeping them at a distance from the King's person, and with endeavouring to promote discord; and then, without further ceremony, they caused Lord Rivers to be seized by their adherents, and put into confinement.

Earl Rivers being thus secured, Gloucester and Buckingham posted to Stony Stratford, where they found the young King
ready

against the Scots, carrying arms against them in several expeditions. He collected out of all our histories, whatever might tend to the proof of the antient vassalage of Scotland to the Crown of England; and hearing there were in Scotland records that put the matter beyond dispute, he went thither with great hazard in disguise, and by his courteous and insinuating behaviour, so far ingratiated himself into the favour of the great men, that he procured the privilege of looking into their records

and original letters. Accordingly we are told, that he procured copies from the Scotch records, of all the homages paid by the Kings of Scotland to those of England, from the reign of Athelstan, grandson to King Alfred, and which he presented to Edward IV. which greatly recommended him to that Prince's favour. He wrote a chronicle in verse of all the Kings of England from Brute to Edward IV. and was of a very advanced age when he died.

ready to take horse, and in expectation of his Governor. For so well had the attendants of the two Dukes guarded all avenues to his lodging, that he was entirely unacquainted with what had happened at Northampton. But he was soon undeceived; for after Gloucester and Buckingham had saluted Edward with great appearance of humility, they immediately, before his face, seized his companion, and half-brother, the Lord Richard Gray, together with Sir Thomas Vaughan; and then they dismissed all the King's retinue from about his person. It was in vain for the young King, by his tears and intreaties, to intercede for persons so near to him in blood, and so dear to his tender years. The two Dukes pretended, that the Marquis of Dorset, Earl Rivers, Lord Gray, and their party, had resolved to destroy all the Lords of the late King Edward's blood, and to rule the kingdom according to their will. The young King said, that he would not undertake to vindicate the conduct of the Marquis of Dorset, of which he was entirely ignorant; but that he would answer for the innocency of his uncle Rivers and his brother Richard, who had always attended him since his father's decease. All this, however, availed nothing; the King was carried back to Northampton, and the next day Earl Rivers, Lord Richard Gray, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, were conveyed as prisoners to the castle of Pontefract.

As soon as the queen was apprized of these proceedings, she at once conceived the whole design of the Duke of Gloucester, and considering her brother and two sons as totally lost, fled for refuge to Westminster-Abbey, accompanied by the Duke of York, who was about nine years of age, and her five daughters. The Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham did, however, bring the young King with great solemnity to London, where he was met by the Lord-Mayor, and five hundred of the citizens, on the 4th of May, 1483, before whom, and the Nobility, and Lords of the Council, the Duke of Gloucester behaved himself with such reverence to the King, that they had not the least suspicion of his treachery; so that he was declared Protector of the King's person and kingdom. Richard having thus far gained his ends, the next point which he had in view was, to get the young Duke of York into his hands; and for this purpose he complained to the Council of the Queen's obstinacy, in detaining the Duke of York dishonourably as a prisoner in a sanctuary, to the scandal of the Government, and the discouragement of the young King, who so much desired his brother's company. Accordingly he prevailed upon the Council to send Cardinal Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury (f), at the head

(f) HENRY BOURCHIER was Countess of Stafford, and brother to the son of William Bourchier, Earl of Ewe in Normandy, and the Countess of Essex; and it is supposed that he was born at Hawtield in

head of a deputation of Lords, to require the Queen to give up the Duke of York. It was with great difficulty that they brought the Queen to deliver up her son; nor could the Archbishop prevail upon her, till he had told her that the Council had come to a determination to take him from the sanctuary by open force. When the Queen had, at length, with the utmost grief and reluctance, delivered up the Duke of York to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that Prelate, who had not the most distant suspicion of Gloucester's designs, carried the young Prince to him; upon which the Protector eagerly embraced and kissed his nephew, protesting, upon his soul, that nothing was so dear to him as this child, except his brother the King; to whom he brought him, and with great state conveyed them both to the Tower, pretending that he did that for their better safety. However, Gloucester now imparted to Buckingham, who was a Nobleman of bad principles, his design upon the Crown; and Buckingham, upon Gloucester's making him very liberal promises, engaged to support him in all his enterprises. Richard's next point was to bring over Lord Hastings into his measures; but he found, upon trial, that notwithstanding that Nobleman's readiness to act in opposition to the Widville family, he was yet warmly attached to the interest of the late King's children. Gloucester, therefore, immediately doomed him to destruction.

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in Essex, one of the family seats of the Bouchiers. He had his education at Oxford, and was Chancellor of that University three years, *viz.* from 1434 to 1437. His first dignity in the Church was that of Dean of St. Martin's in London; from which, in 1434, he was advanced by Pope Eugenius IV. to the See of Worcester; but his consecration was deferred till the following year, on account, as is supposed, of a defect in point of age. He had not sat a full year, before he was elected by the Monks of Ely Bishop of that See, and confirmed therein by the Pope; but the King refusing his consent, Bouchier did not dare to comply with the election, for fear of incurring the censure of the laws, which forbade, under very severe penalties, the receiving the Pope's Bull without the King's leave. Nevertheless, seven or eight years after, the See of Ely still continuing vacant, and the King consenting, he was translated thither in 1443. This Prelate has been charged with great misbehaviour

during his residence on that See. Among other things, it is said, that he never once celebrated mass, or divine service, in his cathedral church, except on the day of his installation. However, he at length mounted to the pinnacle of church preferment, being elected Archbishop of Canterbury, in the room of John Kemp, in 1454; and the concurrence of Pope Nicholas V. being readily obtained, he was installed with great solemnity. At the close of the same year, he received the red hat from Rome, being created Cardinal-Priest of St. *Cyriacus in Therms*. The next year he was made Lord High Chancellor of England, but resigned that office in October the year following. He presided over the Church thirty-two years in the most troublesome times of the English Government; being Archbishop of Canterbury in the successive reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. Edward V. Richard III. and Henry VII. And it appears that Bouchier enjoyed the Prelacy fifty-one years from the time of his first consecration;

The Protector now began to think it time to rid his hands of the prisoners at Pontefract, whose death would deprive the Royal Family of a very considerable support. For this purpose, he dispatched an order for their execution to Sir Thomas Radcliffe, Governor of Pontefract castle, a man devoted to his will. And Radcliffe having already levied a body of five thousand men for the service of Richard, and having of course nothing to fear from the resentment of the people in the neighbourhood, he ordered Earl Rivers, Lord Richard Gray, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, to be immediately beheaded without any form of trial; and this was accordingly executed on the very same day, and about the same time, that Lord Hastings was also beheaded in the Tower by order of the Duke of Gloucester (g).

Thus

consecration; a longer time, it has been observed, than is to be found in the history of any other English Bishop. This Primate is said to have been a man of good learning; and was a benefactor to the University of Cambridge, and to the churches of Canterbury, Worcester, and Ely. He died in 1486.

While Archbishop Bourchier presided over the English Church, a very remarkable and uncommon incident occurred. One of the Bishops was publicly charged with heresy; and on this account Bourchier cited the Prelate to appear before him at his Palace at Lambeth in 1457. This Prelate, who lay under such a grievous imputation, was REGINALD PEACOCK, Bishop of Chichester. When he was at Oxford, he had acquired such great reputation there, that the Regents dispensed with the usual solemnity, when he was admitted Doctor in Divinity. He was first promoted to the See of Asaph, and afterwards translated to that of Chichester. This Prelate maintained publicly, both in preaching and writing, the following dangerous and heretical opinions. That it is not necessary to salvation, to believe in the Holy Catholic Church. That it is not necessary to salvation, to believe that which every general Council doth universally ordain, approve, or determine, should necessarily, for the help of our faith, and the salvation of our souls, be approved and maintained by all faithful Christians. That the universal Church may err in matters which pertain unto faith,

That it is not necessary to salvation, to believe that the body of Christ is materially contained in the Sacrament.—We are also told, that besides these tenets, he set aside the authority of the four most celebrated Latin fathers, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory the Great; nor would he allow them greater weight, than the strength of their reasoning, and the merit of their doctrine, conveyed. In short, he maintained, that matters of faith could only be judged by natural reason. Bishop Peacock, however, though he appears to have been a man of great abilities, had not fortitude enough to support himself under persecution. For being convicted of heresy before Archbishop Bourchier, he made a public recantation of his opinions at St. Paul's cross. However, this was not thought sufficient atonement to the Church; for he was afterwards deprived of his See, and sent to live at Maidstone, having a certain pension assigned him for his subsistence; but he died soon after. He is said to have laboured many years in translating the Scriptures into English; and he wrote ten treatises on different subjects.

(g) The Protector having suddenly and unexpectedly caused Lord Hastings to be beheaded in the Tower, then caused the guards to seize upon the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and the Lord Stanley, whom he confined in the Tower. But as Hastings was very popular among the citizens of London, Richard thought it necessary to make

Thus fell, in the forty-first year of his age, Anthony, Earl Rivers. He was, without dispute, one of the most accomplished Noblemen of that age ; and of whom Sir Thomas More says, *Vir baud facile discernas manure, aut consilio promptior* : he was a man of such abilities, that it was difficult to distinguish whether he was more able to advise, or to execute in affairs of State. Mr. Horace Walpole says of Earl Rivers, that “ the credit of his “ sister (the Queen), the countenance and example of his “ Prince, the boisterousness of the times, nothing softened, no- “ thing roughened the mind of this amiable Lord, who was as “ gallant as his luxurious brother-in-law, without his weak- “ nesses ; as brave as the heroes of either Rose, without their “ savageness ; studious in the intervals of business, and devout “ after the manner of those whimsical times, when men chal- “ lenged others whom they never saw, and went bare-foot to “ visit shrines, in countries of which they had scarce a map.”

Earl Rivers published three translations from the French ; the first of which, supposed to be the second book ever printed in England, was printed at Westminster in 1477, under the following title, by Caxton, the first English Printer : “ The Dictes or “ Sayengis of the Philosophres ; translated out of French by “ Antone Erle of Ryvyers, Lord of Scales and of the Isle of
2 O 2 “ Wyght,

make some apology to them for the suddenness of his execution. He therefore sent a message to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, requiring their immediate attendance in the Tower. And, in the mean time, he and Buckingham cased themselves up in rusty armour ; and when the Magistrates of London arrived, he assured them, that the Lord Hastings, and some others, had formed a plot against his life. He said, he had not been apprized of their design till ten in the morning, but the evidence against them was so strong and convincing, that the King and Council found it absolutely necessary to put Hastings to immediate death, as they were informed that a great number of people were ready to make an insurrection in his favour : that, in such a dangerous dilemma, he had been obliged, for the safety of his person, to put on the first armour he could find ; and that he had sent for them to be witnesses of the truth, that they might acquaint the people, and prevent or appease the commotions which ill affected persons might endeavour to excite in the city. In short, he desired them to do all they

could to provide for the peace of the city, against a danger which was not yet quite over. And within two hours after the death of Hastings, a long proclamation under the Great Seal was published in the city, enumerating that Nobleman's offences, and apologizing for the suddenness of his execution. It was remarked, that this proclamation was drawn up with uncommon care and elegance, and fairly engrossed on parchment ; and appeared evidently, therefore, to be a work of time. And it was observed by a merchant in the city, that this proclamation was certainly drawn by the spirit of prophecy.

Gloucester had charged JANE SHORE, one of the mistresses of the late King Edward, with having been an accomplice with Lord Hastings in his crimes, and in the conspiracy against his life. In order, therefore, to carry on the farse of his accusations, he ordered the goods of Jane Shore to be seized, and her to be summoned before the Council, to answer for the crimes of treason, forcery, and enchantment. Nothing, however, could be proved against her,

"Wyght, Defendour and Directour of the Siege Apostolique
 "for our Holy Fader the Pope inthis Royame of Englund, un-
 "cle and governour to my Lord the Prynce of Wales, &c."

The Earl, in his preface to this translation, observes, That every human creature is subject to the storms of fortune, and perplexed with worldly adversity, of which he had largely had his part; but having been relieved by the goodness of God, he was exhorted to dispose his recovered life to his service. And understanding that there was to be a jubilee and pardon at St. James's in Spain, in 1473, he determined to make a voyage thither; and when he set sail from Southampton for that purpose, a gentleman in his company, named Lowys de Bretaylles, lent him, to pass away the time, this book of the Sayings of the Philosophers, in French, which had been translated from the Latin by Johan de Teonville, Provost of Paris. The Earl was very much taken with the wholesome and sweet sayings of the *PAYNEMS*; and finding how "it speaketh universally of the example, weel, and doctrine of alie Kynges, Prynces, and to people of every estate; lawdes vertue and science, blames vices and ignorance;" though he could not then, nor in all that pilgrimage, oversee it well at his pleasure, through the dispositions that belong to the taker of a jubilee and pardon, and the great acquaintance he found there, he intended at a more convenient time to be better acquainted with it. Remaining in this opinion, after the King commanded him to attend upon the Prince, and having then leisure, he translated it into the English language.

The work itself opens with the sayings of Sedechias, and so goes on with those of many eminent antients; as Homer, Solon,

her, but her incontinence with Edward and Hastings; crimes not new, and long known to all the world. She was, therefore, sentenced by the spiritual court to do penance, by walking in procession from the Bishop's palace to St. Paul's church, clothed in a white sheet, with a taper in her hand, and a cross carried before her; a punishment which she underwent in the most graceful and resigned manner.

"This Lady (says Mr. Hume) was born of reputable parents in London, was well educated, and married to a substantial citizen; but unhappily, views of interest, mere than the maid's inclinations, had been consulted in this match, and her mind, though framed for virtue, had proved unable to resist the allurements of Edward, who solicited her favours. But while seduced from

her duty by this gay and amorous Monarch, she still made herself respectable by her other virtues; and the ascendant, which her charms and vivacity long maintained over him, was all employed in acts of beneficence and humanity. She was still forward to oppose calumny, to protect the oppressed, to relieve the indigent; and her good offices, the genuine result of her heart, never waited the solicitation of presents, or the hopes of reciprocal favours. But she lived not only to feel the bitterness of shame, imposed on her by this barbarous tyrant, but to experience in old age and poverty, the ingratitude of those Courtiers who had long solicited her friendship, and been protected by her credit. No one, among the great multitudes whom she had obliged, appeared to bring her consolation or relief: she languished

Ion, Hippocrates, Pythagoras, Diogenes, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and others. "The most remarkable circumstance attending this book (as Mr. Walpole observes) is the gallantry of the Earl, who omitted to translate part of it, because it contains sarcasms of Socrates against the fair sex: and it is no less remarkable, that his Printer ventured to translate the satire, and add it to his Lordship's performance; yet with an apology for his presumption."

As this apology of Caxton's appears to be a kind of specimen of the wit and pleasantry of that age, our readers will, perhaps, not be displeased to see it. We shall, however, take the liberty of making some little alteration in the phrase and orthography. "I find (says Caxton) that my said Lord hath left out certain and divers conclusions touching women! wherein I marvel that my said Lord hath not written them, or what should move him so to do, or what cause he had at that time. But I suppose that some fair Lady hath desired him to leave it out of his book; or else he was amorous on some Noble Lady, for whose love he would not set it in his book; or else for the very affection, love, and good will, that he hath unto ALL LADIES and GENTLEWOMEN, he thought that Socrates spared the same, and wrote of women more than TRUTH. For if he had written wrongly concerning women, he ought not, nor would not be believed in his other DICTES and SAYINGS. But I perceive that my said Lord knoweth verily, that such faults are not to be found in the women born and dwelling

linguished out her life in solitude and ignorance: and amidst a Court, enured to the most atrocious crimes, the frailties of this woman justified all violations of friendship towards her, and all oblivion of former favours."

Richard was not satisfied with having stripped this unhappy woman of her little substance, and exposed her to public shame; but, it is said, he even made it penal for any one to furnish her with lodging, or the common necessities of life. But notwithstanding his cruel orders, she still found some relief from private persons, and was alive in the reign of Henry VIII. when Sir Thomas More knew her, though she was then without any remains of her former beauty, except the elegance of her person, and the regularity of her features, which no years nor calamities could entirely destroy.

The Duke of Gloucester having removed Earl Rivers, Lord Hastings, and those whom he thought stood most in the way of his ambition,

next endeavoured to infuse into the people's minds a bad opinion of the late King Edward's administration, and some doubts as to the legitimacy of his children; which, by the help of the Duke of Buckingham's management of the Lord Mayor and some of the citizens of London, was improved into a pretended popular denand, that the young Prince should be laid aside, and Richard, instead of Protector, be declared King; which at first he affected to refuse, but soon changed his mind, and accepted. Accordingly Richard III. was proclaimed King on the 22d of June, 1483, and crowned with uncommon magnificence on the 6th of July following, together with Anne his Queen, daughter to Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, whom he had now married. And soon after, according to Sir Thomas More, and the generality of our historians, the two young Princes, the late King's sons, were smothered in the Tower.

“ling in THESE PARTS, or regions of the world. Socrates was
 “a GREEK, born in a distant country from HENCE, which coun-
 “try is all of other conditions than THIS is ; and men and
 “women of other nature than they be here in THIS country ;
 “for I wrote well, of whatsoever condition women be in
 “Greece, the women of this country are RIGHT GOOD, WISE,
 “PLEASANT, HUMBLE, DISCREET, SOBER, CHASTE, OBEDI-
 “ENT to their husbands, TRUE, SECRET, STEDFAST, ever
 “BUSY, and never idle, TEMPERATE in SPEAKING, and VIR-
 “TUOUS in ALL their works ; or at least SHOULD be so. For
 “which causes so evident, my said Lord, as I suppose, thought it
 “was not of necessity to set in his book the sayings of his au-
 “thor, Socrates, touching women. But forasmuch as I had
 “commandment of my said Lord to correct and amend, where I
 “should find fault ; and other find I none, save that he hath left
 “out these DICTES and SAYINGS of the WOMEN OF GREECE ;
 “therefore in accomplishing his commandment, forasmuch as I
 “am not certain whether it was in my Lord’s copy, or not ; or
 “else, peradventure, that the wind hath blown over the leaf
 “at the time of translation of his book, I purpose to write the
 “same sayings of that Greek, Socrates, which he wrote of the
 “WOMEN OF GREECE, and nothing of them of THIS REALM,
 “whom, I suppose, he never knew ; for if he had, I dare
 “plainly say, that he would have RESERVED THEM IN ESPE-
 “CIAL, in his said dictes. Always not presuming to put and set
 “them in my said Lord’s book, but in the END, apart, in the
 “rehearsal of the work ; humbly requiring all them that shall
 “read this little rehearsal, that, if they find any fault, they will
 “impute it to Socrates, and not to me.”

There is in the Archbishop’s library at Lambeth, a very beautiful manuscript of this work of Earl Rivers, written in a fair, regular, and even a Roman hand ; and having before it an illumination, or painting in miniature, representing the Earl introducing Caxton to Edward IV. his Queen, and the Prince ; of which Mr. Walpole hath favoured the public with an engraving, in the first volume of his CATALOGUE OF THE ROYAL AND NOBLE AUTHORS OF ENGLAND.

The next performance of this Nobleman’s, was a translation of THE MORALE PROVERBES OF CHRYSTYNE OF PISE. The authoress of this work, Christina, was daughter of Thomas of Pifa, otherwise called of Boulogne, whither her father removed. She wrote in French, and flourished about the year 1400. “In
 “this translation,” says Mr. Walpole, “the Earl discovered new
 “talents, turning the work into a poem of two hundred and
 “three lines, the greatest part of which he contrived to make
 “conclude with the letter E : an instance at once of his Lord-
 “ship’s application, and of the bad taste of an age, which had
 “witticisms and whims to struggle with, as well as ignorance.”

Earl Rivers’s third piece was, “The boke namyd CORDYAL,
 “whiche treteth of the foure last thinges : Deth, Jugement,
 “Helle,

“ Helle, Heven.” This is likewise a translation from the French ; but the original author is not named. It was printed by Caxton in 1479.

Besides these pieces, Caxton says, that Earl Rivers’ “ made di-
“ versé BALADES agenst the SEVEN DEDELY SYNNES.”

It is justly observed by Mr. Walpole, that Earl Rivers, and Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, of whom we have given a short account elsewhere, contributed very much, by their countenance and example, to the restoration of learning in this kingdom. But an event which happened at this period, of the utmost importance to the republic of letters, contributed more than any thing besides, to the diffusion and propagation of learning and science (b). This was, the INVENTION OF PRINTING. This art was first discovered and practised at Mentz in Germany, about the year 1455. The city of Haerlem in Holland hath, indeed, put in a claim for the honour of this invention ; but its claim appears to have been generally rejected, and upon good grounds. The art of Printing was first introduced and practised in England by William Caxton (i).

We are told, that Pope Nicholas the Fifth patronized this new art. It appears, however, that the Romish Clergy were early alarmed at the consequences which would probably result from this invention. They were very apprehensive, that it might tend to make the people too knowing to submit to the usurpations of the Papal See. Cardinal Wolsey, in a letter to the then Pope, observed, That his Holiness could not be ignorant what divers effects the new invention of Printing had produced ; for as it had brought in, and restored books and learning, so together it had been the occasion of these sects and schisms which daily appeared in the world, but chiefly in Germany ; where men begin now to call in question *the present faith and tenets of the Church*, and to examine how far religion is departed from its primitive institution. And that which was particularly to be most lamented, they had exhorted *lay and ordinary men to read the Scriptures, and to pray in their vulgar tongues*. That if this were suffered, besides all other dangers, the common people at last might come to believe, that there was *not so much use of the Clergy* : for if men were persuaded once, they could make *their own way to GOD*, and the prayers in their *native and ordinary language* might pierce

(b) Another event which also happened about this period, was very favourable to the restoration of learning in Europe. This was the taking of Constantinople in 1453, by Mahomet the Second ; in consequence of which, great numbers of learned men were driven into Italy, who greatly contributed towards the revival of the arts, and the purity of the almost forgotten tongues.

(i) WILLIAM CAXTON was born about the latter end of the reign of King Henry IV. in the Weald, or woody part of Kent. He was instructed at home in reading and writing ; in which, considering the times, he attained to considerable proficiency. He afterwards attained some knowledge of both Latin and French. When he was about fifteen or sixteen, he was put apprentice to Mr.

pierce Heaven as well as in *Latin* : how much would the authority of the Mass fall ? how prejudicial might this prove to all Ecclesiastical Orders ?

The observations of the venerable John Fox on this subject, are worth perusal. " By Printing (saith he) tongues are known, " knowledge groweth, judgement encreaseth, books are dis- " perfed, the Scripture is seen, the Doctors be read, stories be " opened, times compared, truth discerned, falshood detested, " and with finger pointed, and all through the benefit of Print- " ing. Wherefore I suppose, that either the Pope must abolish " Printing, or he must seek a new world to reign over : for else, " as this world standeth, Printing doubtless will abolish him. " But the Pope, and all his college of Cardinals, must this un- " derstand, that through the light of Printing the world begin- " neth now to have eyes to see, and heads to judge. He cannot " walk so invifible in a net, but he will be fpied. And although " through might he stopped the mouth of John Hufs before, " and of Jerome, that they might not preach, thinking to make " his kingdom fure ; yet, instead of John Hufs and others, " God hath opened the prefs to preach, whose voice the Pope is " never able to ftop with all the puiffance of his triple Crown. " By this Printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the fingu- " lar organ of the Holy Ghof, the doctrine of the Gofpel " foundeth to all nations and countries under Heaven, and what " God revealeth to one man, is difperfed to many, and what is " known in one nation, is opened to all.

" The first and best were for the Bishop of Rome, by the be- " nefit of Printing, to learn and know the truth. If he will " not, let him well understand that Printing is not fet up for " nought. To ftrive againft the stream it availeth not. What " the

Mr. Robert Large, a Mercer, who, after having been Sheriff and Lord Mayor of London, died in 1441, leaving by will thirty-four marks to his apprentice, William Caxton ; a considerable legacy in those days, and an early testimony of Caxton's good behaviour and integrity. Caxton went abroad to settle, the same year that his master died, and was then in so much reputation and esteem, as to be intrusted by the mercers company to be their agent or factor in Holland, Zealand, Flanders, &c. It seems he spent about twenty-three years in these countries ; but he had then acquired such an eminent character for his knowledge, experience, and integrity, that in 1464 a commission was granted to him, and Richard Whetehill, Esq; by King Edward IV.

to continue and confirm the treaty of trade and commerce between his Majesty and Philip, Duke of Burgundy ; or, if they found it necessary, to make a new one. They are stiled, in the commission, Ambassadors and Special Deputies. When the marriage was concluded, in 1468, between King Edward's sister, the Lady Margaret, and Charles, Duke of Burgundy, on that Princess's arrival at the Duke's Court at Bruges, Mr. Caxton appears to have been of her retinue. He was now either one of her household, or held some constant post or office under her ; because, as he says, he received of her a yearly fee or salary, besides many other great benefits. And as he was now more expert than most others in penmanship and languages, it is probable

“ the Pope hath lost, since Printing and the Press began to
 “ preach, let him cast his counters. First, when Erasmus wrote,
 “ and Frobenius (†) printed, what a blow thereby was given to
 “ all Friars and Monks in the world ? and who seeth not, that
 “ the pen of Luther following after Erasmus, and set forward
 “ by writing, hath set the triple Crown so awry on the Pope’s
 “ head, that it is like never to be set right again ?” He further
 adds, “ Almighty God, of his merciful Providence, seeing both
 “ what lacked in the Church, and also how to remedy the same,
 “ for the advancement of his glory, gave the understanding of
 “ this excellent art or science of Printing ; whereby three sin-
 “ gular commodities at one time came to the world. First, the
 7. 2 P “ price

probable that he was employed by the Dutchess in some literary way. But it appears that he had partly attained the mystery of Printing, and, as he himself says, with great expence, before he was thus apparently established in her service. And he was employed by the Dutchess in translating out of French a large volume, and afterwards in printing it. It appeared under the title of, *The Recuyell of the Historys of Troye* ; and is the first book, at least in being, or which we now know of, that was ever printed in the English tongue. Caxton finished the printing of this work in 1471 ; but it does not appear, that the art of Printing was practised by him in England, till about three years after. By the edition of the *Game of Chess*, which is dated in 1474, Caxton appears to have been then settled in England ; and this book is generally allowed to have been the first specimen of the art among us ; and, as such, it has been so valued, that it is said the Earl of Pembroke, for a fair copy thereof, which was given him by Mr. Granger, presented him with a purse of forty guineas. The title is as follows : ‘ The game and play of the ‘ Chess, in which Thauctorities, ‘ Dictes, and Stories of aunient ‘ Doctours, Philosophers, Poetes, and ‘ of other wysse men been recounted, ‘ and applied unto the moralitie of ‘ the publique wele, as well of the ‘ Nobles, as of the comyn people. ‘ Translated out of French, and im- ‘ printed by William Caxton, syn- ‘ nishid of, the last day of Marche, ‘ the yere of our Lord God, a thou-

‘ sand foure hundred and LXXIIII.’ This piece was dedicated by Caxton to the King’s brother, the Duke of Clarence. Caxton printed several other pieces, either of his own composition, or translated by him. He printed an English translation of a French version of the *Æneid*, most of Chaucer’s works, some of Gower’s, and Lydgate’s, and many other pieces. His last work was a translation from the French, of the holy lives of the fathers hermits living in the deserts ; and we are informed by Wynkin de Worde, his successor, that he finished his life and translation together, on the same day, in the year 1491 ; when, it is supposed, he must have been upwards of fourscore years of age.

‘ Whoever (says Dr. Middleton) ‘ turns over Caxton’s printed works, ‘ must contract a respect for him, ‘ and be convinced that he preserved ‘ the same character through life, of ‘ an honest, modest man ; greatly ‘ industrious to do good to his coun- ‘ try, to the best of his abilities, by ‘ spreading among the people such ‘ books as he thought useful to reli- ‘ gion and good manners, which ‘ were chiefly translated from the ‘ French. The novelty and useful- ‘ ness of his art recommended him ‘ to the special notice and favour of ‘ the Great ; under whose protec- ‘ tion, and at whose expence, the ‘ greatest part of his works were ‘ published.”—Works of Dr. Con- ‘ yers Middleton, Vol. V. P. 354.

(†) JOHN FROBENIUS was an eminent and learned German Printer, and a native of Hammelburgh in Franconia,

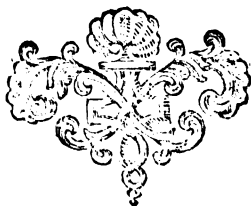
"price of all books is diminished; secondly, the speedy help
 "of reading more furthered; and thirdly, the plenty of all
 "good authors enlarged."-----Fox's ACTS and MONUMENTS,
 Edit. 1641, Vol. i. P. 927.

Thus far our old Martyrologist.-----We cannot, however, dis-
 miss the subject, without a further remark.---As the art of Print-
 ing is thus evidently of the greatest advantage to literature, sci-
 ence, true religion, and society in general; so it is also of the
 utmost importance to the interests both of civil and religious Li-
 berty, that the FREEDOM OF THE PRESS should be inviolably
 maintained. And every appearance, at any time, of any design
 to deprive us of so inestimable a privilege, ought justly to alarm
 us. "The Press," says Dr. Middleton, "in all countries
 "where it can have its free course, will ever be found the surest
 "guardian of right and truth; and to that this particular coun-
 "try, among the many great blessings which it enjoys, is mani-
 "festly indebted for one of the greatest, its deliverance from a
 "Popish slavery."

Mr. Hume says, (Hist. of Eng. Vol. iii. P. 281.) that Earl
 Rivers "first introduced the noble art of Printing into England."
 But that gentleman is evidently mistaken in this particular.
 Earl Rivers did, indeed, countenance and employ Caxton, and
 appears to have introduced him to King Edward IV. But Cax-
 ton had introduced and practised his art in England before he
 was employed by Earl Rivers. And none of our typographical
 antiquarians ever attributed this honour to that Nobleman.

Franconia. He was the first of the
 German Printers who brought the
 art to any perfection; and being a
 man of great probity and piety, as
 well as skill, he was particularly
 choice of the authors he printed.
 The great reputation and character
 of this Printer, was the principal
 motive which induced Erasmus to fix
 his quarters at Basil, in order to have
 his own works printed by him. The
 connexion between Erasmus and Fro-
 benius grew very close and intimate;
 and it was not, it has been observed,

such a kind of connexion as usually
 subsists between a Printer and an
 Author, where each is endeavouring
 to make the best bargain he can, but
 it was a connexion of friendship and
 the sincerest cordiality. Erasmus
 loved the good qualities of Frobe-
 nius, as much as Frobenius could ad-
 mire the great ones of Erasmus. Fro-
 benius died at Basil in 1527, greatly
 lamented, and particularly by Eras-
 mus, who wrote his epitaph in
 Greek and Latin.



The Life of MARGARET, Countess of Richmond and Derby.

THIS Lady was the only daughter and heiress of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, (grandson of John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster) by Margaret Beauchamp, his wife. She was born at Bletshoe in Bedfordshire, in the year 1441. While she was very young, the Great Duke of Suffolk, Minister to King Henry the Sixth, solicited her in marriage for his son, while the King wooed her for his half-brother, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond. On so nice a point, the good young Lady, we are told, advised with an elderly gentlewoman; who thinking it too great a decision to take upon herself, recommended her to St. Nicholas, the patron of virgins. Accordingly Lady Margaret, it is said, followed the pious instructions she had received; and poured forth her supplications and prayers with such effect, that one morning, whether sleeping or waking she could not tell, there appeared unto her somebody in the likeness of a Bishop, in a pontifical habit, who tendered unto her the Earl of Richmond for her husband. This, therefore, determined the point in favour of Edmund, to whom she was accordingly married. Edmund, Earl of Richmond, surnamed of Haddam, was the son of Owen Tudor, and Queen Catherine of Valois, widow of Henry V. And by him our Margaret, now Countess of Richmond, had one son named Henry, who was afterwards King, by the title of Henry VII.

On the 3d of November, 1456, the Earl of Richmond died, leaving Margaret, his Countess, a very young widow, and his son and heir, Henry, not above fifteen weeks old. After which she married Sir Henry Stafford, Knight, second son to the Duke of Buckingham, by whom she had no issue. And soon after the death of Sir Henry Stafford, which happened about 1482, she was married again to Thomas, Lord Stanley.

It appears that her son, the Earl of Richmond, was present at the battle of Tewksbury; and as he was by his mother's side allied to the House of Lancaster, he had sided with Queen Margaret and the Lancastrian party. But after their defeat at Tewksbury, he had retired into Brittany, where he was well received by Francis II. then Duke thereof, and protected throughout the reign of Edward IV. notwithstanding all the intrigues of that Prince to get him into his hands. For his descent, which seemed to give him some pretensions to the Crown, had made him a great object of jealousy to Edward. And on the accession of Richard III. he also sent his agents to the Duke of Brittany, in order to get the Earl of Richmond delivered up; but he

did not succeed in his design. And the Duke of Buckingham, who had been the principal instrument of raising Richard to the Throne, having conceived some disgust against him, now formed a design, in conjunction with Morton, Bishop of Ely, to dethrone the Usurper, and raise Henry, Earl of Richmond, to the Throne. And it was proposed between them, that Richmond should marry Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV. and by that means unite the two Houses of York and Lancaster, and put an end to the cruel dissensions and civil wars in which the kingdom had been so long involved.

Buckingham and the Prelate thought it was necessary to impart this scheme to the Countess of Richmond, that she might inform her son of their design, and endeavour to procure the consent of the Queen-Dowager. And the Bishop, being intimately acquainted with one Reginald Bray, a servant of the Countess of Richmond, sent for him, and acquainted him with the secret; and Bray promised to engage his mistress in the scheme. And accordingly the Countess, being acquainted with their plan, found it so advantageous for her son, and, at the same time, so likely to succeed, that it could not but receive her approbation. She, therefore, sent back Bray to the Duke of Buckingham, to inform him, that she heartily approved of their scheme, and was greatly obliged to them for their friendly intentions in behalf of her son. And at the same time she assured him, that she would endeavour to procure the consent of the Queen-Dowager to the intended marriage. As to the Bishop of Ely, he had taken an opportunity to cross the sea to Flanders; from whence he sent a letter to Buckingham, exhorting him to proceed in his enterprize, and assuring him, that he could be of more service to him on the continent, than in England.

In pursuance of the scheme which was now concerted, the Countess of Richmond employed her physician, Dr. Lewis, a Welshman, to carry the proposals to the Queen-Dowager, who still remained in the sanctuary of Westminster, bewailing the untimely death of her two sons. Lewis's employment was somewhat hazardous; for he did not know whether the Queen-Dowager might not look upon him as a spy, and so betray him to Richard, who was daily soliciting her, with very liberal promises, to quit the sanctuary. And the physician had the greater reason to apprehend this, as the Countess of Richmond then appeared publicly in Richard's Court, her husband, Lord Stanley, being Lord Chamberlain of the Household. However, Lewis, who was a man of ability, and managed the negotiation with the Queen-Dowager with address, found that revenge for the murder of her brother Earl Rivers, and of her three sons, apprehensions for her surviving family, and resentment of her confinement and oppressions, easily overcame all her prejudices against the House of Lancaster, and procured her approbation of a marriage, to which the age and birth, as well as the present situation of the two parties, seemed so naturally to invite them. And she engaged so heartily

heartily in the scheme, as to secretly borrow a sum of money in the city, and send it over to the Earl of Richmond, requiring his oath to fulfil the marriage with her daughter Elizabeth, as soon as he should arrive in England; and, in case of her eldest daughter's death, to espouse her younger daughter Cecily. The Queen-Dowager also advised Richmond to levy as many foreign forces as possible; and promised to join him, on his first appearance, with all the friends and adherents of her family.

The Countess of Richmond having succeeded in her negotiation with the Queen-Dowager, immediately employed Reginald Bray to resort to all the friends of the Lancaster family, and to prepare them for an insurrection against the Usurper. He had instructions, at the same time, to trust them with the secret of the proposed match between the Earl of Richmond, and the Princess Elizabeth. And as the steps which Richard had taken to ascend the Throne, had made him universally detested, the nation in general appeared extremely desirous of seeing the kingdom delivered from the government of the Usurper. And the Countess of Richmond dispatched one Christopher Urswick, a Priest, into Brittany, to acquaint her son Henry with the measures which were taking in his favour.

The design of raising the Earl of Richmond to the Throne of England, was so much favoured by the Duke of Brittany, that he furnished the Earl with a fleet of fifteen sail, on board which were embarked five thousand men. But King Richard having early intelligence of the Duke of Buckingham's project, and of his negotiations in favour of Richmond, took effectual care to disappoint both. The Duke's forces he defeated by surprize, made himself master of his person, and beheaded him. And as to the Earl of Richmond, he prevented his landing, by keeping a strong squadron at sea, and guards on all the coasts. So that when the Earl, with his small fleet, approached the Welsh shore, he saw it was impracticable to land, and therefore bore away to Dieppe, where he safely arrived, and from thence went by land into Brittany.

In 1484, the Countess of Richmond, with her son Henry, and several others, were attainted in Parliament. The Countess's attainder was, probably, owing to some discovery made by Richard, of the share she had in the measures which had been taken in behalf of her son. However, she was only ordered into the custody of her own husband, the Lord Stanley, who was so much in Richard's favour, as to have been appointed by him High Constable of England.

This attempt to dethrone Richard having been thus frustrated, he dismissed his forces, and laid up and unrigged his fleet, as if he had been entirely removed from danger: a procedure by no means agreeable to the usual sagacity of his character (m). And
after

(m) After the death of Buckingham, Richard paid his Court to the Queen-Dowager, and the retreat of Richmond, Dowager with great art and address, and

after the Earl of Richmond's return to Brittany, Peter Landais, Minister to the Duke of Brittany, and by whom that Prince was entirely governed, entered into a treaty with Richard for putting the Earl into his hands. But the Bishop of Ely, who remained an exile in Flanders, having discovered this design, gave notice of it to the Earl of Richmond, and advised him to fly into France. This advice he immediately pursued, but yet had a narrow escape; for a troop of horse who were sent to retake him, were but an hour too late.

On Henry's arrival in France, he was well received by the French King, Charles VIII. who promised him his protection and assistance: nor had he been long at that Court, before the Earl of Oxford, who was a prisoner at Calais, prevailed upon the Governor of that important fortress to embrace his interest, and to go with him into France, in order to consult on a new invasion of England. Accordingly the French King having furnished the Earl of Richmond with about two thousand troops, he set sail from Havre-de-Grace on the first of August, 1485, and landed at Milford-Haven on the seventh of the same month.

Henry had no sooner landed, than he sent an express to his mother, the Countess of Richmond, intreating her to use all her interest with her husband, Lord Stanley, and his friends, to join him on his march to London. But it is said that the answer which he received to this express, was extremely dark and doubtful. For after Henry's landing, Richard began to be very suspicious of Lord Stanley, and his brother Sir William; and, therefore, though he empowered Lord Stanley to levy forces for his service, he still retained his eldest son, George Stanley, Lord Strange, as a pledge of his fidelity; and that nobleman was, on that account, obliged to be very cautious and reserved in his proceedings. He raised a considerable body of his friends and adherents in Lancashire and Cheshire, but without openly declaring himself. However, he sent the Earl of Richmond private assurances of his friendly intentions towards him; but, notwithstanding, the armies on both sides knew not what to infer from the doubtfulness of Stanley's behaviour.

Henry,

and made such warm protestations of friendship and regard, and so many promises of taking her family and friends into high favour, and advancing them to places of trust and importance, that he prevailed upon her to leave her sanctuary, and to put herself and her daughters into his hands. But he carried his views still farther, for the establishment of his Throne. He formed a design of espousing his niece, the Princess Elizabeth, and a dispensation for that purpose was applied for at the Court of Rome. His Queen, Anne, died

very opportunely for this scheme; but her death was generally supposed to have been hastened by poison. And the Queen-Dowager, eager to recover her influence and authority, consented to this alliance; though Richard had procured the murder of her three sons, and of her brother. She even wrote to all her adherents, and among the rest to her son the Marquis of Dorset, desiring them to withdraw from the Earl of Richmond: an injury which Henry never afterwards forgave.

Henry, after his landing, had been joined by great numbers of the Welsh; and after he had passed the Severn at Shrewsbury, he was also joined by many of the English. Richard, however, had assembled an army double in number to that of Henry. And the two armies met each other at Bosworth, near Leicester, on the twenty-second of August; and early in the morning they were both drawn out in order of battle. Soon after the battle began, Lord Stanley, with the troops under his command, declared for the Earl of Richmond; and he was soon after joined by Sir William Stanley. This inspired Henry's soldiers with fresh courage, and threw Richard's army into confusion. In short, Richard's army was totally defeated, and he himself was slain; though not till he had displayed the most desperate courage (*n*); having reigned only two years and two months. Richard had worn a Crown on his head during the battle, and it being afterwards found by Sir William Stanley, he put it on the head of the Earl of Richmond; and the soldiers called out unanimously, "Long live King Henry!" Henry VII. was crowned on the 30th of October; but he did not marry the Princess Elizabeth till the 18th of January, 1486.

Thus had the Countess of Richmond the high satisfaction of seeing her son raised to the Throne of England (*o*). And her husband,

(*n*) Richard finding himself deserted by Lord Stanley, and his brother, Sir William, collected all his force, and made a most furious charge upon the center of the enemy's army, where he understood the Earl of Richmond commanded in person. He displayed a valour, worthy of a better cause.—Richard was of a low stature; but his spirits, activity, and address, supplied all defects in his strength and person; nothing could withstand his fury; he pierced the front ranks; he opened his way to his rival's person, and drove against him with fury, in hopes that by Henry's death he should decide the contest between them. He laid Sir William Brandon, the Earl's standard-bearer, dead at his feet; he overthrew Sir John Cheyney, who supplied Brandon's place; he filled the place where he fought with slaughter; and though Richmond defended himself bravely, he must, it is said, have sunk under Richard's arm, if he had not been rescued by his men. Richard, however, was at length overwhelmed by the number of his enemies; but he fought bravely to the last moment, and fell with his

sword in his hand. His body, after the battle, was found in the field, covered with enemies, and all besmeared with blood. It was thrown naked across an horse, and carried thus to Leicester, and afterwards interred in the Gray-Friars church of that place.

Richard III. notwithstanding the iniquitous steps which he took to ascend the Throne, was in a political sense not a bad King. At least, it is certain, that he enacted wise laws, governed the people, in general, with moderation, and took great care to promote and extend trade and commerce.

(*o*) It must, however, be acknowledged, that Henry's title was but a very indifferent one. All his title by descent he derived from his mother, the Dutchess of Richmond, who, as we have already seen, was of the Beaufort family, and descended from John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster; but the Beaufort family was legitimated only by an act of Parliament, and with an express exception as to the Throne. And the deficiency of his title made him so jealous, that the next day after the battle of Bosworth,

he

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husband, Lord Stanley, was also created Earl of Derby. But she had no issue by the Earl, who died in the year 1504. One of his sons, by a former wife, was made Bishop of Ely by her interest. And it appears that application was made to Erasmus to be preceptor to this young gentleman, in order to qualify him for the Prelacy (p).

The Countess of Richmond was greatly distinguished for her piety; though it was strongly tinged with the superstition of the times. Having heard a very high character of the piety, virtue, and learning, of Dr. John Fisher, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, she was extremely desirous of having him for her Chaplain and Confessor; and accordingly prevailed upon him to live with her in that capacity. And it is said, that she committed herself, and her whole family, to his government and direction. And before Fisher was promoted to the See of Rochester, which was in 1504, King Henry, who appears to have always treated his mother the Countess with the highest respect, wrote to her for her consent to Fisher's elevation (q). It was the Countess's custom to rise about five o'clock in the morning, and from that hour till dinner-time, (which, we are told, was then *ten o'clock*;) she continued, almost without ceasing, in meditation and prayer; which she resumed again after dinner.

Her

he sent a party of light horse to bring Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son to the late Duke of Clarence, out of Yorkshire, and to convey him close prisoner to the Tower of London; though even Richard III. had suffered him to live in peace. And Henry's jealousy afterwards cost the young Earl his life.

(p) 'At this time, (1496) I suppose, Erasmus refused a large pension, and larger promises, from a young illiterate Englishman, who was to be made a Bishop, and who wanted to have him for a preceptor. He would not, as he says, be so hindered from prosecuting his studies, for all the wealth in the world. This youth, as Knight informs us, seems to have been James Stanley, son of the Earl of Derby, and son-in-law to Margaret, the King's mother, and afterwards made Bishop of Ely by her interest. This (says Knight) *surely was the worst thing she ever did*: and, indeed, if it be the *Catholic*, it is not the *Apostolic* method of bestowing and of obtaining Bishops. However, it appears that the young gentleman, though ignorant, had a desire to learn something, and to qua-

lify himself in some measure for the station in which he was to be placed.'—*Life of Erasmus*, (by the very learned and ingenious Dr. Jortin), Vol. I. P. 6.

(q) The letter which the King wrote to the Countess of Richmond upon this occasion, began thus: 'Madam, and I thought I should not offend you, which I will never do wilfully; I am well myndit to promote Master Fisher your Confessor to a Bishopric; and I assure you, Madam, for non other cause but for the grete and singular virtue, that I know and se in hym, as well as in conyng and natural wisdom, and specially for his good and vertuose lyving and conversation. And by the promotyon of suche a man, I know well, it should corage many others to lyve vertuously, and to take such wayes as he dothe, which shulde be a good example to many others hereafter. Howbeit without your pleasure knowen I well not move hym, nor tempt hym therein, &c.'—Lord Bacon observes, that King Henry did 'always tenderly love and revere his mother, the Countess of Richmond.'

Her charity was very great and extensive. She performed all her life-time so many noble acts and charitable deeds, that, as Stow expresses it, "they cannot be expressed in a small volume. Avarice was her aversion; and she daily dispensed all suitable relief and assistance to the distressed and the indigent. In particular, she kept constantly in her house twelve poor people, whom she provided with lodging, food, and clothes. And her high rank, and being the mother of a King, was so far from inspiring her with pride and haughtiness, that she would frequently search and dress the wounds of poor and distressed people with her own hands. We are also told, as a further proof both of her humility, and her zeal for what she thought for the interest of Christianity, that she often declared, that "on condition that the "Princes of Christendom would combine themselves, and march "against their common enemy the Turks, she would most willingly attend them, and be their laundress in the camp." As to her chastity, we are told, that as it was unspotted in her marriage, so in her last husband's days, and long before his death, she obtained a licence of him to live chaste; after which she took upon her the vow of celibacy from Bishop Fisher's hands, in a form yet extant in the registers of St. John's College in Cambridge; and it was for this reason, it has been supposed, that her portraiture is frequently taken in the habit of a Nun.

The Countess of Richmond's education had in some degree qualified her for a studious and retired manner of life. She understood the French language perfectly, and had some skill in the Latin tongue; but would often lament, that in her youth she did not make herself a perfect mistress of it. It was probably her affection for literature which induced her mother-in-law, the Dutchess of Buckingham, to give her the following legacy in her last will: "To her daughter Richmond, a book of English, bearing a legend of Saints; a book of French, called *LUCUS*; "another book of French, of the Epistles and Gospels; and a "primer with clasps of silver gilt, covered with purple velvet." This was a considerable legacy of its kind at that time, when few of her sex were taught letters; for it has been often mentioned as an extraordinary accomplishment in Jane Shore, that she could write and read. But the Countess's literary acquisitions were much more considerable; for she published, "The "Mirroure of Golde for the sinfull soule;" translated from a French translation of a book called, *SPECULUM AUREUM PECCATORUM*. She also translated out of French into English, the fourth book of Dr. John Gerson's treatise "Of the imitation "and following the blessed life of our most merciful SAVIOUR "CHRIST;" which was printed at the end of Dr. William Atkinson's English translation of the three first books, in 1504. She also made, at her son's desire, and by his authority, the orders, yet extant, for great estates of Ladies and Noble women, for their precedence, &c.

She was a great patroness of learning, and of learned men ; and she gave the strongest evidence of this by her munificent foundations. On the eighth of September, 1502, she instituted two perpetual public lectures in Divinity, one at Oxford, and the other at Cambridge ; each of which she endowed with twenty marks a year. And on the 30th of October, 1504, she founded a perpetual public preacher at Cambridge, with a salary of ten pounds a year, whose duty it was to preach at least six sermons every year, at several churches, specified in the foundation, in the dioceses of London, Ely, and Lincoln. But this institution has been since altered, by Royal Dispensation, to one sermon before the University, at the beginning of Easter term. She also founded a perpetual chantry in the church of Winburne-Minster in Dorsetshire, where her father and mother lay buried, for one Priest to teach grammar freely, to all that would come, while the world should endure, with a stipend of ten pounds a year.

But the Countess of Richmond's most noble foundations were, the Colleges of Christ and St. John in Cambridge. The former, founded in the year 1505, for one master, twelve fellows, and forty-seven scholars. The latter in the year 1508, for a master, and fifty fellows and scholars. Both these foundations have been since much enlarged. But the latter was scarcely begun before the foundress died ; it was, however, compleated and finished by her executors, the chief of whom was Bishop Fisher. It is now, by the munificence of several other benefactors, one of the largest and most considerable in the University of Cambridge.

This most exemplary Lady, having lived sixty-eight years an ornament to her sex, and a public benefit, departed this life the twenty-ninth of June, 1509, in the first year of the reign of her grandson, King Henry VIII. She had seen her son, Henry VII. advanced, by a wonderful turn of fortune, from an exile to the Throne of England ; and when he had reigned twenty-three years, and lived fifty-two, she saw him carried to his grave ; but she survived him only three months. She was buried, with great solemnity, in the south-isle of the beautiful chapel erected by him, adjoining to Westminster Abbey ; and had a sumptuous monument erected to her memory, adorned with gilded brass, arms, and an epitaph round the verge, drawn up by Erasmus, at the request of Bishop Fisher ; for which, we are told, he had twenty shillings given him by the University of Cambridge. Upon this altar-tomb, which is enclosed with a grate, is placed a statue of her, all of solid brass, with a table adjoining to it, on which is a Latin elegy, written by John Skelton, the poet-laureat.

The epitaph inscribed round the verge, on a fillet of brass, is as follows : “ *Margaretæ Richmondiaë, septimi Henrici Matri*
“ Octavi Aviaë, quæ stipendia constituit tribus hoc cœnobio
“ monachis, & doctori grammatices apud Winborn ; perque
“ Angliam

“ Angliam totam divini verbi præconi ; duobus item interpre-
“ tibus Literarum Sacrarum, alteri Oxoniis, alteri Canta-
“ brigiæ, ubi et collegia duo, Christo, & Johanni discipulo ejus,
“ struxit. Moritur An. Dom. M.D.IX. tertio Kal. Julii.”
That is, in English, “ To Margaret of Richmond, the mother
“ of Henry VII. and grandmother of Henry VIII. who founded
“ salaries for three Monks in this convent, for a grammar-school
“ at Winborne, and a preacher of God’s word throughout Eng-
“ land ; as also for two divinity lecturers, the one at Oxford, the
“ other at Cambridge ; in which last place she likewise built
“ two Colleges, in honour of Christ and his disciple St. John.
“ She died in the year of our Lord, 1509, June the 29th.”

Bishop Fisher observed of this illustrious Lady, that by her marriage with the Earl of Richmond, and by her birth, she was allied to thirty Kings and Queens, within the fourth degree either of blood or affinity ; besides Earls, Marquisses, Dukes, and Princes. And since her death, as Mr. Baker says, she has been allied in her posterity to thirty more.



The Life of WILLIAM WARHAM, Archbishop of Canterbury.

WILLIAM WARHAM, son of Robert Warham, was born of a genteel family at Okely in Hampshire. He received the rudiments of his education at Winchester school, and from thence was removed to New College, Oxford, where he was admitted as a Fellow in 1475. He took the degree of Doctor of Laws; and quitted the College, according to Mr. Wood, in 1488. It appears, however, that he was collated to a Rectorship by the Bishop of Ely in that year; and soon after became an advocate in the Court of Arches, and moderator in the civil law school in the University of Oxford. And on the second of November, 1493, he was collated to the chantorship of Wells; and on the 13th of the February following, he was constituted master of the rolls.

The same year Dr. Warham was sent on an embassy, together with Sir Edward Poynings, to the Court of Philip, Archduke of Austria, on account of the affair of Perkin Warbeck. This impostor is said to have been the son of a Renegado Jew of Tournay; and being a youth of a very comely person, and good parts, was thought to personate Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, who was generally supposed to have been murdered in the Tower by the direction of Richard III. but who, it was now pretended, was yet alive, having escaped out of the Tower before the murder of his elder brother. This imposture is supposed, by the generality of our historians, to have been chiefly set on foot by Margaret, Dutcheſs Dowager of Burgundy, sister to the late King Edward IV. who had conceived a violent animosity against King Henry VII. Perkin made his first public appearance in Ireland, where, in consequence of his assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, he drew to himself many adherents. He afterwards went to Paris, where he was received by the French King with all the marks of respect and regard due to the Duke of York. From France he withdrew to the Dutcheſs of Burgundy in Flanders, and that Princess publickly owned him as her nephew.

The scheme in favour of Perkin Warbeck was carried on thus far, and he was in this public manner countenanced and supported, when King Henry, somewhat alarmed at this new claimant to his Crown, sent Dr. Warham, and Sir Edward Poynings, to remonstrate with the Archduke Philip, on account of the
the

the countenance and protection which was afforded to this imposture in his dominions, the Archduke being Sovereign of the estates possessed by the Dutchess of Burgundy.

When the Ambassadors were admitted to the Archduke's Council, Dr. Warham undertook to be the orator on this occasion; and to set forth the foulness of the imposture, and the improbability of Perkin's being the genuine Richard Plantagenet. He began with observing, that the King his master was much concerned, that the country of Flanders, which had such close connections with England, should be "the stage where" "a base counterfeit should play the part of a King of England," "not only to his Grace's disquiet and dishonour, but to the" "scorn and reproach of all Sovereign Princes." King Henry, Warham told the Council, had too good an opinion of them, to suppose that they could give any credit to so improbable a tale. He said, it was unnecessary for the King at present to produce those plain and infallible testimonies which he had in his power, of the Death of Richard, Duke of York; because this was too flagrant an imposture to require it. He jocularly told them, that King Henry knew "Duke Perkin from his cradle; and" "because (said he) he is a great PRINCE, if you have any" "good Poet here, he can help him with NOTES to write his LIFE," "and to parallel him with Lambert Simnel, now the King's" "falconer (r)." Warham then proceeded to tell them, that, to speak plainly, it was the strangest thing in the world, that the
Lady

(r) This was another pretender to the Crown, which had been set up about six years before, in order to disturb the quiet of Henry's government; and which had been likewise supported by the Dutchess Dowager of Burgundy. A report had at that time prevailed, that the second son of Edward IV. was yet alive. Upon this one Richard Simon, a Priest of Oxford, having a pupil named Lambert Simnel, the son of a baker, a youth of about fifteen years of age, who was possessed of an understanding above his years, and address above his condition, thought him well qualified to personate a Prince of Royal extraction. He, therefore, at first, instructed his pupil to assume the name of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York; but hearing afterwards a new report, that the Earl of Warwick had made his escape from the Tower, and observing that this news gave general satisfaction, he changed his plan, and made Simnel personate that unfortunate Prince.

Simnel's first appearance in the character which he had now assumed, was in Ireland, where the people were zealously attached to the House of York, and bore an affectionate regard for the memory of the Duke of Clarence, Warwick's father, who had been Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom. He was presented to the Earl of Kildare, who immediately interested himself in his behalf; and Simnel gained so much credit in Ireland, that the people in Dublin unanimously tendered their allegiance to him as the true Plantagenet; they paid the pretended Prince attendance as their Sovereign, lodged him in the castle of Dublin, crowned him with a diadem taken from a statue of the Virgin, and publicly proclaimed him King, under the appellation of Edward the VIth. King Henry strongly suspected the Queen Dowager to be concerned in this imposture; in consequence of which she was shut up in the nunnery of Bermondsey in Southwark, where she was deprived
of

Lady Margaret (whose malice to the King, he said, was both causeless and needless) should now, when she was old, "at the time when other women give over child-bearing; bring forth two such monsters, (meaning Simnel and Warbeck), being not the births of nine or ten months, but of many years. And whereas other natural mothers bring forth children weak, and not able to help themselves, she bringeth forth tall striplings, able soon after their coming into the world to bid battle to mighty Kings." Dr. Warham then concluded his oration thus: "My Lords, we stand unwillingly upon this part. We would to God, that Lady would once taste the joys which GOD ALMIGHTY doth serve up unto her, in beholding her niece to reign in such honour, and with so much Royal issue, which she might be pleased to account as her own. The King's request unto the Archduke, and your Lordships, might be, That according to the example of King Charles, who hath already discarded him (†), you would banish this unworthy fellow out of your dominions. But because the King may justly expect more from an antient confederate, than from a new reconciled enemy (†) he maketh his request unto you,

"to

of all commerce with the world, and all her effects were seized for the King's use; though this was done under another pretence. King Henry was much censured for this harsh treatment of the mother of his Queen, as nothing was publicly proved against her; but this obloquy (as Lord Bacon expresses it) 'was somewhat sweetened to him by a great confiscation.' The Queen-Dowager died in this confinement a short time after. King Henry's next measure was ordering the real Earl of Warwick to be taken out of the Tower, and led in procession through the streets of London; he was also conducted to St. Paul's, and there exposed to the eyes of the whole people.

The Dutchess Dowager of Burgundy, who hated the House of Lancaster, and was particularly inflamed against Henry, on account of his jealousy and oppression of the House of York and its adherents, having heard of Simnel's success in Ireland, hired a body of two thousand veteran Germans, and sent them under the command of an experienced officer, accompanied by the Earl of Lincoln, to join the party of Simnel. Accordingly Simnel and his forces landed at Foudrey in Lancashire; upon which

King Henry immediately collected his troops together, and advanced towards them; and both armies meeting at Stoke in the county of Nottingham, a decisive battle was fought, in which Simnel's troops, though they fought with great bravery, were entirely routed. Simnel was taken prisoner; but Henry, by an excellent stroke of policy, did not put him to death, but made him a turnip in the Royal kitchen, and afterwards advanced him to the rank of a falconer. And Simon, who was also taken, being a Priest, was not tried at law, but was only committed to close custody.

(†) Henry had applied to Charles VIII. King of France, to deliver up Perkin Warbeck while he was at his Court; but the French Monarch would only agree to dismiss him.

(†) King Henry had a short time before, on the 3d of November, 1492, concluded a peace with France.

About the latter end of the preceding year, this politic Monarch had assembled a Parliament at Westminster; and in a speech which he made upon this occasion, he acquainted them that he was determined to attempt the conquest of France. He told them, among other things, that France had even proceeded to a con-

tempt

“ to deliver him up into his hands : pirates and impostors of this sort, being fit to be accounted the common enemies of mankind, and no ways to be protected by the law of nations.”

The Archduke's Council having considered the purport of Dr. Warham's oration, after some deliberation, returned this short answer : “ That the Archduke, for the love of King Henry, would in no sort aid or assist the pretended Duke ; but in all things preserve the amity he had with the King. “ But for the Dutchess Dowager, she was absolute in the lands of her dowry, and that he could not hinder her from disposing of her own.” But this answer, being founded upon an assertion which was false in fact, that the Dutchess Dowager was absolute in the lands of her dowry, produced a very sharp reply from the English Ambassadors.

When Dr. Warham and his colleague returned to England, King Henry was by no means pleased with the answer which they brought him from the Archduke. And they plainly told the King, that they saw the Dutchess Dowager of Burgundy had a great party in the Archduke's Council ; and that the Archduke did, in an under-hand manner, give aid and assistance to Perkin. Henry, therefore, in resentment of the Archduke's behaviour, cut off all commerce with the Low Countries, banished the Flemings from England, and recalled his own subjects from these provinces ; and Philip retaliated by similar edicts. But as the commerce between England and Flanders was too advantageous to both countries, for the interruption of it not to be sensibly felt by each of them, a treaty was afterwards set on foot for an accommodation. Accordingly Commissioners for that purpose

empt of England, and had refused to pay the tribute which Lewis the Eleventh had stipulated to Edward the Fourth ; but that he was determined to maintain, by force of arms, that just title to the Crown of France, which had been transmitted to him by his gallant ancestors. In short, he obtained a grant from the Parliament of two fifteenths to carry on the war with France. Accordingly he embarked for Calais with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse ; and from Calais he immediately marched with his army into the enemy's country, and laid siege to Bulloigne. But notwithstanding this, it appears that Henry had no real design to carry on a war with France : for there had been secret advances made towards a peace above three months before ; and Commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. ‘ But the truth

‘ was,’ says Lord Bacon, ‘ that he ‘ did but traffic with that war, to ‘ make his return in money.’ Accordingly, within a month after his arrival in France, he concluded the peace which we have already mentioned. By this treaty the French King agreed to pay Henry seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns ; partly as a reimbursement of the sums advanced for Brittany, and partly as arrears of the annuity, or tribute, due to Edward IV. And he stipulated an annuity to Henry and his heirs of twenty-five thousand crowns. Henry, when he returned to Calais, wrote letters from thence to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, (which, Lord Bacon says, was a courtesy he sometimes used,) boasting, what great sums he had obtained for the peace.—See Lord Bacon's History of the reign of Henry VII. Edit. 1629. P. 110, 111, 112.

purpose were appointed to meet at London; and those on the part of King Henry were, Bishop Fox, Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord Wells, Kendall, Prior of St. John's, and the Master of the Rolls, our Dr. Warham, who now, as Lord Bacon says, began to gain much upon the King's opinion. And a treaty of commerce was concluded by these Commissioners, and those of the Archduke, on the 24th of February, 1496 (*u*).

Dr. Warham having executed his office of Master of the Rolls, as well as his other employments, with great abilities, and with general applause, and very much to the satisfaction of the King, he was in the year 1502 promoted to the Bishopric of London, and also appointed Keeper of the Great Seal; and in the same year he was constituted Lord-Chancellor.

King Henry's eldest son Arthur, Prince of Wales, was in 1502 married to the Infanta Catherine of Arragon, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain; Prince Arthur being near sixteen years of age, and the Infanta eighteen. But the young Prince some time after died, greatly regretted by the nation: however, King Henry being desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, it was proposed that she should marry the younger brother Henry, now Prince of Wales. There was great reason to believe the marriage between Prince Arthur and the Infanta had been really consummated; Bishop Warham, therefore, remonstrated in very strong terms against the proposed marriage of that Princess with Prince Henry. He told King Henry, that he thought it was neither honourable nor well-pleasing to God. But Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who, as well as Warham, was very much in the King's favour, argued for the match, pretending that the Pope's dispensation could take away all impediments, either sacred or civil. Accordingly a Bull for that purpose was obtained from Rome on the 26th of December, 1503; and the Prince and Princess were married accordingly, though Henry was under age, and testified great reluctance to the match. This marriage was afterwards attended with the most important consequences; "the secret providence of God," says Lord Bacon, "ordaining that marriage to be the occasion of great events and changes."

In

(*u*) In 1495, Perkin Warbeck having gathered together about six hundred men, put to sea with a resolution of making a descent in England, in hopes of exciting the common people to take up arms in his favour: for the vigilance and severity of King Henry, had put it out of his power to carry on any correspondence with the Nobility. Henry had even caused Sir William Stanley, Lord

Chamberlain, who had greatly contributed to his elevation to the Throne, to be beheaded for high treason, in being one of the abettors of Perkin. The evidence or nature of Stanley's guilt, is, however, by no means very clear; and Lord Bacon, in enumerating the reasons which might induce Henry to put him to death, mentions 'the glimmering of a conviction;' Stanley being the richest

In 1504, Bishop Warham was translated to the See of Canterbury; and it appears that his declaring against Prince Henry's marriage did in no degree diminish the King's esteem for him; but, on the contrary, though Fox's opinion was more agreeable to the King's inclinations, it appears that Warham's reasonings made a great impression on him. " Warham (says Bishop Burnet) had so possessed the King with an aversion to this marriage, that on the same day that the Prince was of age (u), he, by his father's command, laid on him in the presence of many of the Nobility and others, made a protestation in the hands of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, before a public notary, and read it himself, by which he declared, That whereas he being under age was married to the Princess Catherine, yet now coming to be of age, he did not confirm that marriage, 7. 2 R " but

richest subject in the kingdom. Sir Simon Montfort, and several others, were also put to death, for aiding and abetting Perkin.

Perkin, however, having arrived upon the coast of Kent, cast anchor there, and sent some of his adherents on shore, to try whether the country people would join them. But the Kentishmen, on the contrary, attacked Perkin's men, killed many, drove others back to their ships, and took upwards of an hundred and fifty prisoners, who were every one hanged by Henry's order. Perkin, after this repulse, retired into Flanders; but he soon after made an attempt upon Ireland; and being there also unsuccessful, he directed his course towards Scotland, and presented himself to James IV. who then governed that kingdom. Perkin was very favourably received by that Prince, who gave him in marriage the Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntley, and a near kinswoman of his own. But in 1497, a truce being concluded between England and Scotland, King James desired Perkin to depart that kingdom. Soon after Perkin landed at Bodmyn in Cornwall, where three thousand men flocked to his standard; upon which he assumed the title of Richard the Fourth, King of England. He then marched towards Exeter, and laid siege to that city; but he made little progress in it; and hearing that a great number of troops were preparing to come against him, he raised the siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton, And

though his followers now amounted to seven thousand men, he yet himself despaired of success, and therefore retired to the sanctuary of Bewley in New Forest; and at last surrendered himself to Henry's troops, upon promise of life and pardon. He was afterwards carried publicly through London; and some time after, attempting to escape from his guard, he was confined in the Tower, and is said by some to have been there tortured, to bring him to a confession of his imposture. However, it is certain that he did make a confession, whether voluntary or not; but in 1499, attempting to escape out of the Tower together with the Earl of Warwick, and being discovered, he was condemned and hanged at Tyburn. And the Earl of Warwick, the last male heir of the race of Plantagenet, who had been guilty of no crime but desiring to regain that liberty of which he had been unjustly deprived, was beheaded on Tower-hill on the 28th of November, 1499.

(u) The Bishop's meaning probably is, when the Prince had attained to such an age, as to be better enabled to judge of the propriety of his marriage, he being only twelve years of age when he was contracted to the Princess Catherine. For it is certain, that he was never properly of age during the life of his father, being only eighteen when he ascended the Throne.—See Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Folio, V. I. P. 36. Edit, 1679.

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“ but retracted and annulled it, and would not proceed in it, but intended in full form of law to void it and break it off; which he declared he did freely and of his own accord.”

In 1506, May 28, Archbishop Warham was unanimously elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, being then, and which he continued to be all his life, a great friend and benefactor to that University and its members.

In 1509, King Henry VII. died, and was succeeded by his son Henry VIII. who was then only eighteen years of age (*w*); but from whose promising abilities great expectations were formed. Archbishop Warham's high rank in the Church, and the important office he held in the State, as Lord-Chancellor, naturally caused him to preside at the Council-Board of the young King; but besides his ecclesiastical and civil dignity, his experience, wisdom, moderation, and candour, gave him great authority there.

One of the first things that came under consultation after the accession of young Henry, was the subject of his marriage, it being necessary that he should either break it totally, or conclude it. Archbishop Warham still continued to oppose it; and the Bishop of Winchester still contended for it. But Henry himself being now disposed to the completion of the marriage, the arguments of Bishop Fox prevailed; and the young King and the Princess

(*w*) Henry VII. is universally allowed to have been one of the wisest Princes of the age in which he lived; and his reign was, upon the whole, fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad: for he put an end to those calamitous civil wars in which the nation had been so long involved: many excellent laws were enacted in his reign; he encouraged commerce; and paid great attention to the maritime interests of the kingdom. He expended fourteen thousand pounds in building one ship called the *GREAT HARRY*; which was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy; for, before this period, our Princes used to hire ships when they had occasion to transport forces abroad. Henry depressed the exorbitant power of the Nobility; and by means of the law enacted during his reign, which gave a power to the Nobility and Gentry of breaking the antient entails, and of alienating their estates, the great fortunes of the Barons were gradually dissipated, and the property of the Commons greatly increased in England. But the avarice of this Prince was unbounded,

in consequence of which his subjects were sometimes grievously oppressed; and his consciousness of the deficiency of his title, made him guilty of some acts of cruelty.

Henry VII. married his eldest daughter, the Princess Margaret, to James IV. King of Scotland; in consequence of which marriage the family of Stuart ascended the Throne of England, and the two kingdoms of course became subject to the same Sovereign. When this marriage was deliberated on in Henry's Council, it was objected by some, that England might, by means of that alliance, fall under the dominion of Scotland. ‘No,’ replied Henry, ‘Scotland, in that event, would only become an accession to England.’

It was during this reign, in 1492, that Christopher Columbus discovered the West-Indies; an event attended with the most important consequences to all the nations of Europe.

In the seventh year of this King's reign, ROBERT FABIAN was Alderman and Sheriff of London. He wrote an history of England and France, from the creation of the world

Princess Catherine were accordingly married again on the 3d of June, 1509; and on the 24th of the same month they were crowned at Westminster by Archbishop Warham (x).

In 1611, some transactions happened, which our impartiality obliges us to relate; though for the honour of Archbishop Warham's memory, we should rather have wished to omit them. On the second of May in this year, six men and four women, most of them of Tenterden, appeared before the Archbishop in his manor of Knall, and abjured the following tenets: "I. That in
" the Sacrament of the Altar is not the Body of CHRIST, but
" material bread. II. That the Sacraments of Baptism, and
" Confirmation, are not necessary, nor profitable for men's souls.
" III. That confession of sins ought not to be made to a Priest.
" IV. That there is no more power given by God to a Priest,
" than to a Layman. V. That the solemnization of matrimony
" is not profitable, nor necessary for man's soul. VI. That the
" Sacrament of extreme unction is not profitable, nor necessary
" for man's soul. VII. That pilgrimages to holy and devout
" places be not profitable, nor meritorious for man's soul. VIII.
" That images of Saints be not to be worshipped. IX. That a
" man should pray to no Saint, but only to God. X. That
" holy water and holy bread be not better after the benediction
" made by the Priest, than before." These people, having ab-
jured these opinions, were afterwards made to swear, That they
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world to the twentieth year of King Henry VII. He was born in London; and being brought up to trade, became a considerable merchant there. He was a person of learning for the times he lived in, and had some skill in poetry, both in English, Latin, and French. But he chiefly applied himself to the study of history; and compiled out of several authors the history or chronicle which we have already mentioned, and which was printed after his death. He died at London in 1512, and was buried in St. Michael's church in Cornhill. Fabian's Chronicle, or, as he himself calls it, *The Concordance of Stories*, was first printed at London in 1516, in two Volumes, Folio; the second Volume is the most valuable. We are told, that Cardinal Wolfey caused as many copies of this work as he could meet with to be burnt, because the author had made too clear a discovery of the large revenues of the Clergy. John Stow calls this work of our author, 'a painful labour, to the great honour of the city, and of the whole realm.'

(x) Henry began his reign with some very popular actions. He caused such persons as had been unjustly kept in confinement by his father, to be set at liberty. And Empson and Dudley, who had been the instruments of the late King in his unjust and severe exactions and oppressions of his people, were brought to justice, being beheaded on Tower-hill. They were both Lawyers of ability, and had been made Barons of the Exchequer, and grown exceeding wealthy; but they had perverted their knowledge of the Law to the purposes of iniquity and oppression. Edmund Dudley, during his confinement in the Tower, composed a very extraordinary book, entitled, *The Treas of the Commonwealth*, wherein he shewed great capacity as a Statesman; and 'from which (says Dr. Campbell) many pestiferous schemes have taken their rise, his family having held the reins of government here for near half a century.' He was father to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.

would discover all whom they knew to hold these errors, or who were suspected of them, or that did keep any private conventicles, or were encouragers of those that published such doctrines. And two other inhabitants of Tenterdon abjured most of these opinions the same day.

The Court sat again on the 5th of May, and the Archbishop enjoined these people penance, to wear the badge of a faggot in flames on their clothes during their lives, or till they were dispensed with for it; and also that in the procession, both at the cathedral of Canterbury, and at their own parish churches, they should carry a faggot on their shoulders. This was looked upon as a public confession that they deserved burning. In the same month ten other persons abjured; and in June, July, August, and September following, fifteen more. In these abjurations some were put to abjure more, and some fewer of the former doctrines; and in some of their abjurations two more articles were added. "I. That the images of the Crucifix, of our Lady and other Saints, ought not to be worshipped, because they were made with men's hands, and were but stocks and stones. II. That money and labour spent in pilgrimages was all in vain." All these persons, says Bishop Burnet, whether they were unjustly accused, or were overcome with fear, or had but crude conceptions of these opinions, and so were easily frightened out of them, abjured, and performed the penance that was enjoined them.

But it appears that others met with more severe treatment. One WILLIAM CARDER, of Tenterdon also, being indicted on the former articles, he denied them all but one, "That he had said it was enough to pray to ALMIGHTY God alone, and therefore we needed not to pray to Saints for any mediation." Upon which, witnesses were brought against him, who were all such as were then prisoners, but intended to abjure, and were now made use of to convict others. They swore that WILLIAM CARDER had taught them these opinions. When their depositions were published, he said, he did repent if he had said any thing against the Faith and the Sacraments; but he did not remember that he had ever said any such thing. However, sentence was passed on him as an obstinate Heretic, and he was delivered over to the secular power.

On the same day a woman, named Agnes Grevill, was indicted upon the same articles. She pleaded, NOT GUILTY; but by a strange kind of proceeding, says Burnet, her husband and her two sons were brought in as witnesses against her. Her husband deposed, that in the end of the reign of Edward IV. one John Ive had persuaded her into these opinions, which she had persisted in ever since; and her sons also deposed, that she had been still infusing these doctrines into them. One Harrison was also convicted of heresy at the same time; and on the second of May, 1511, sentence was given against these two as obstinate

obstinate Heretics; and on the same day Archbishop Warham signed the writs for certifying these sentences into the Chancery, which concluded in these words, "Our Holy Mother the Church having nothing farther that she can do in this matter, we leave the fore-mentioned Heretics, and every one of them, to your Royal Highness, and to your secular Council." And on the 8th of May, in the same year, John Brown and Edward Walker being also indicted of heresy on the former points, they both pleaded, NOT GUILTY; but the witnesses deposing against them, they were judged obstinate Heretics, and the former a relapsed one, he having before abjured before Cardinal Morton. And on the 19th of May, sentence was given. When or how (says Bishop Burnet) these sentences were executed, I cannot find. Sure I am, there are no pardons upon record for any of them; and it was the course of the law, either to send a pardon, or to issue out the writ for burning them.

These severe sentences so much intimidated the others who were charged with heresy, that they all abjured. And on the 5th of June, 1512, two men and two women abjured that article, "That in the Sacrament of the Altar, there was only material bread, and not the body of CHRIST." And on the 4th and 13th of September, two other women abjured the former articles. "This," says Burnet, "is all that is in Warham's register about Heretics."—It had been more to Warham's honour, if there had not been so much. How direful are the effects of superstition! since it could induce a man of a mild, peaceable, and humane disposition, (as Warham in other respects appears to have been) to be concerned in such persecutions and enormities as these.

Warham continued to hold his place of Chancellor for the first seven years of Henry's reign. But he found his post so troublesome, after Cardinal Wolsey had gained such an ascendancy over Henry, as to be intrusted with almost the sole administration of public affairs, that he became quite weary of it. Wolsey was by no means pleased with Warham, and Warham most heartily disliked Wolsey. "Archbishop Warham (says Bishop Burnet) always hated Cardinal Wolsey, and would never stoop to him, esteeming it below the dignity of his See." And Erasmus relates of Warham, that it was his custom to wear plain apparel; and that once, when King Henry VIII. and Charles V. had an interview, Wolsey took upon him to set forth an order, that the Clergy should appear splendidly dressed, in silk or damask; and that Warham alone, despising the Cardinal's commands, came in his usual clothes.

One misunderstanding between Warham and Wolsey, was about the latter's having the Cross carried before him in the province of Canterbury. Warham, as Primate of all England, had taken umbrage that Wolsey, who was only Archbishop of York, should cause the Cross to be carried before him, in the presence
of

of Warham, and even in the province of Canterbury, contrary to the antient custom; which was, that the Crofs of the See of York should not be advanced in the same province, or in the same place, with the Crofs of Canterbury, in acknowledgement of the superiority of the latter See. And Warham expostulating with Wolsey about it, the Cardinal projected how he might for the future have a right to do it, without incurring any imputation of acting contrary to rule. And though his being a Cardinal did not give him the contested right, he knew that he might assume it with a better grace, if he was invested with the legantine character; and, therefore, he solicited and obtained it, being made the Pope's Legate a Latere in November, 1515; and on the 22d of December following, Archbishop Warham resigned the Seals, and Wolsey was made Lord Chancellor in his room.

These new dignities encreased still more the pride of the Cardinal; and we have a remarkable instance of his arrogant behaviour to Warham. The Archbishop having had occasion to write to Wolsey, at the bottom of his letter had subscribed himself, YOUR LOVING BROTHER WILLIAM OF CANTERBURY. But the haughty Cardinal was highly irritated at this familiar style; and warmly declared, that he would make the Archbishop sensible that he was his superior, and not his brother. And the bearer of the letter having, on his return, informed Warham what offence Wolsey had taken at his subscription, the Archbishop replied, "Peace; knowest thou not that the man is become inebriated with success?"

In 1418, Cardinal Wolsey attending Queen Katharine to Oxford, acquainted that University with his design of founding several public lectures there, and also desired to be intrusted with the care of reducing their statutes into some better form and order than they were at that time. This motion of the Cardinal's being favourably received by the University, letters were dispatched to Archbishop Warham, the Chancellor, to signify the proposal to him, and to acquaint him with the favourable reception which had been given to it. And the Archbishop, in his answer to the University, highly approved and applauded the overtures which the Cardinal had made towards founding the proposed academical lectures; but was by no means disposed to grant his concurrence, that the whole rights and power of the University should be transferred into the Cardinal's hands, notwithstanding his declaration with respect to the use which he would make of that power. "For seeing (said Warham) all the statutes of the University do in general, and severally, tend to the advancement of learning, and scholastic discipline, if the whole authority respecting such statutes should devolve upon any person besides those who are at this time vested with it, the University, considered as a society, would be dissolved. A mere empty name, or shadow of power, would only remain to it; and the authority which it formerly exercised, would wholly

“ wholly terminate in the person to whom you desire it may be transferred. But (continued the Archbishop) if the Cardinal should be pleased to declare his sentiments concerning a regulation of the statutes, or in what respects he would have them altered, restored, or methodized, and should lay his scheme to that end before the University, for their confirmation; if it should appear so salutary and well concerted, as might justly be expected from him, there would then be no question, but all persons would readily come into it.” However, the Cardinal was at this time so much in the favour of the University, that Archbishop Warham’s letter did not please them; and they, therefore, renewed their application to the Archbishop, that he would give his countenance to what was desired by the Cardinal; and which, at length, by their repeated instances and representations, he was prevailed upon to do. And accordingly, on the 1st of June, 1518, in a full convocation, a decree was passed, that the statutes of the University should be put into the hands of the Cardinal, to be corrected, reformed, and altered, as he thought proper.

It appears that Wolsey often incroached upon Warham’s archiepiscopal jurisdiction; and that the Archbishop sometimes remonstrated by letter to the Cardinal about this. In one of his letters to the Cardinal, Warham expresses himself thus: “ Pleaseth it your Grace to understand, that I am informed by the friends of Jane Roper, that she is called upon to appear before certain of your Grace’s Commissaries in your chapel at York-Place; for to take upon her as executrix, or else to refuse, or to be set aside, as no executrix; and the will of the said John Roper to be taken as no will, nor she to be taken as executrix. So it is as I am informed, that this testamentary cause was called before such Commissaries, as were deputed to examine such testamentary causes, as concerned the PREROGATIVE. Where by your Grace’s Commissaries and mine, the party thinketh that she might have had indifferent justice. And now by special labour, and sinister means, to be called before other Commissaries of the PREROGATIVE, she, and some other of her Counsel, writeth to me, that she is otherwise ordered than according to good justice. It is written to me also, that in case your Grace should call all testamentary causes to special Commissaries, that finally the jurisdiction of the PREROGATIVE would be extinct. And also all testamentary causes shall only depend upon your Grace’s pleasure; and no man’s will to take any effect, but as it shall please your Grace.”—“ I would your Grace knew what rumour and obloquy is both in these parts, and also in London, that no testaments can take effect, otherwise than your Grace is content. And it hath openly been shewed me by divers men, that it is a great trouble and vexation to be called before your Grace’s Commissaries and mine; and also to be called before your
“ Grace’s

" Grace's special Commissaries in your said chapel, or otherwise
 " at your Grace's pleasure. And many saith, that it is a great
 " oversight in me, that I would make such a composition with
 " your Grace, which should turn so many men to trouble and
 " vexation."

In another letter the Archbishop writes thus to Wolsey :
 " Pleaseth it your good Grace to understand, I am informed that
 " your Grace intendeth to interrupt me in the use of the *PÆ-*
 " *ROGATIVE*, in the which my predecessors and I, in the right
 " of my church of Canterbury, hath been possessed by privi-
 " lege, custom, and prescription, time out of mind. And for
 " the interruption of the same, your Grace is minded, as I am
 " informed, to depute Dr. Alan. Which if your Grace should
 " so do, considering that not only all mine officers of my courts
 " of the *ARCHES* and the *AUDIENCIE*, but also the Commissa-
 " ries of my diocese of Kent, and I myself, not only in matters
 " of suit of instance of parties, but also in cases of correction,
 " depending before me and them, be continually inhibited by
 " your officers ; I should have nothing left for me and my of-
 " ficers to do ; but should be as a shadow and image of an
 " Archbishop and Legate, void of authority and jurisdiction.
 " Which would be to me perpetual reproach, and to my church
 " a perpetual prejudice (y)."

We are told, that when great clamours were made in the nation
 about the conduct of Wolsey, there was no one who durst carry
 to the King any complaints against the Cardinal, till Archbishop
 Warham informed him of the discontent of the people. Henry
 professed his ignorance of the whole matter. " A man (said the
 " King to Warham) is not so blind any where as in his own
 " house. But do you, Father, go to Wolsey, and tell him, if
 " any thing be amiss, that he mend it." A reproof of this
 kind, it has been observed, was not likely to be effectual. It only
 served to augment Wolsey's enmity to Warham.

About the year 1527, King Henry VIII. began to declare his
 scruples concerning the lawfulness of his marriage with his pre-
 sent Queen, Catherine, on account of her having been before
 married to his deceased brother, Prince Arthur. He had now
 had three children by Queen Catherine, two sons (to the eldest
 of which Archbishop Warham had stood god-father) and one
 daughter, the Princess Mary, who was afterwards Queen of
 England. But both his male children died in their infancy.
 And as King Henry, we are told, found by the law of Moses,
 that *if a man took his brother's wife they should die childless*, he was
 led to reflect upon the death of his children, which he now looked
 upon as a curse from God for his unlawful marriage with his
 brother's wife. Upon this, it is said, Henry set himself to study
 the case ; and was more particularly convinced of the unlawfulness

(y) *Vid.* Dr. Fiddes's collections at the end of his life of Cardinal
 Wolsey, P. 177, 178.

ness of his marriage, by the judgment of Thomas Aquinas, a writer in whose works he took great pleasure, and whose opinion had great weight with him. He learned from Aquinas, that the Levitical laws about the forbidden decrees of marriage, were moral and eternal, such as were obligatory on all Christians; and that the Pope could only dispense with the laws of the Church, but could not dispense with the laws of God. It is, indeed, alleged, that Henry was at this time influenced by other motives than scruples of conscience; and that the true state of the case was, that Henry was now become weary of Queen Catherine, and violently enamoured of Anne Boleyn, daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn. There is, however, reason to believe, that Henry's revival of his old scruples with respect to his marriage with Queen Catherine, or at least his inclination for a divorce, was prior to his amour with Anne Boleyn (x). But be this as it may, Archbishop Warham opened the King's scruples relative to the lawfulness of his marriage, in a letter to the University of Oxford, transmitting to them at the same time the following question, for their determination, "Whether it be prohibited by any divine or natural law, that a brother may marry the relict of his brother deceased?" And by way of answer to this question, the University came to this determination, "That in the judgment of the whole University, and for a full conclusion, supported by the most strong and convincing reasons, upon the question proposed, they resolve, That it is prohibited, both by the divine and natural law, that a brother should marry the relict of his brother deceased, without children by her, and whose marriage with her had been carnally consummated."

Archbishop Warham was also commanded by the King to require the opinions of all the Bishops of England concerning this matter; and they declared, in a writing under their hands and seals, that they judged it an unlawful marriage. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was the only Prelate who refused to set his hand to it; and though the Archbishop pressed him most earnestly to it, yet he persisted in his refusal, saying, that it was against his conscience. Upon which the Archbishop, it is said, made another write down Fisher's name, and set his seal to the resolution of the rest of the Bishops. But the instrument being afterwards produced with Fisher's name to it by King Henry, the Bishop denied that it was his hand; and the Archbishop alleged, that he had leave given him by the Bishop to put his hand to it, which the other denied. And Burnet observes, that it was "not likely that Fisher, who scrupled in conscience to subscribe it himself, would have consented to such a weak artifice."—As to the rest of the proceedings relative to King Henry's divorce, we shall say no more of them here, as we shall have occasion to treat of them in another place.

In 1529, Cardinal Wolsey being disgraced, and deprived of his Chancellorship, the Great Seal was offered again to Archbishop Warham; but he being now far advanced in years, and apprehensive that great difficulty would in the present situation of affairs attend the execution of the office of Chancellor, declined the acceptance of it. Upon which it was given to Sir Thomas More.

In 1532, Archbishop Warham, together with many others, was imposed upon by the pretended visions of Elizabeth Barton, the Maid of Kent; which hath subjected him to the imputation of superstitious credulity. But before a complete discovery was made of this imposture, (of which an account will be given hereafter), the Archbishop died at Canterbury. This event happened on the 22d of August, 1532, between the hours of three and four in the morning. He was buried on the north side of Becket's tomb at Canterbury, where a handsome monument was erected for him, but which was afterwards defaced in the civil wars.

Bishop Burnet observes of Archbishop Warham, that he was a great Canonist, and an able Statesman; and not so peevishly engaged in the learning of the schools, as others were; but set up and encouraged a more generous way of knowledge; and yet was a severe persecutor of those whom he thought Heretics. In another place Burnet says, that Warham "had all along concurred in the King's proceedings, (relative to his divorce and supremacy), and had promoted them in convocation: yet six months before his death, he made a protestation of a singular nature at Lambeth, and so secretly, that mention is only made of three notaries, and four witnesses present. It is to this effect: That what statutes soever had passed, or were to pass, in this present Parliament, to the prejudice of the Pope, or the Apostolic See, or that derogated from, or lessened the ecclesiastical authority, or the liberties of his See of Canterbury, he did not consent to them; but did disown and dissent from them. I leave it to the reader to consider (says the Bishop) what construction can be made upon this; whether it was, in the decline of his life, put on him by his confessor, about the time of Lent, as a penance for what he had done; or if he must be looked on as a deceitful man, that, while he seemed openly to concur in those things, protested against them secretly, &c."

This eminent Prelate was a great encourager of learning, and of learned men. He purchased the curious Greek books, which were brought hither by the Prelates, and other Dignitaries of the Greek Church, after the taking of Constantinople; and afterwards presented them to New College. His house and table were ever open to men of letters, natives as well as foreigners. Dean Colet was among the number of his intimate friends. But the memory of Archbishop Warham deserves particular respect,

on account of his being the warm friend, and generous patron, of an illustrious man, whose name is justly dear to the republic of letters, the IMMORTAL ERASMUS.

Archbishop Warham had, as the excellent Dr. Jortin expresses it, "the honour and the glory to live and die poor." Though he passed through the highest and most wealthy offices both in Church and State, yet such was his generosity, and so little did he attend to his own advantage, that he left no more than was sufficient to pay his debts and funeral charges. It is said that, when he was near his end, he called upon his steward to know what money he had in his hands; who telling him that he had but thirty pounds, he cheerfully answered, *Satis viatici ad Cælum*, that was enough to last him to Heaven.

Warham had sat twenty-eight years in the See of Canterbury. He did, besides his many epistles, send over his picture to Erasmus at Basil; which Dr. Knight supposes to have been a copy of that at Lambeth, which was drawn by Holbein; and which, among other curiosities, is said to be preserved in what they call Erasmus's College at Basil to this day. Erasmus in return sent him one of his own. The Archbishop left his Theological books to All Souls College library, his Civil and Canon Law books to New College, and all his books of Church Music to Wykeham's College near Winchester.

Erasmus dedicated his edition of St. Jerom to Archbishop Warham (f); and, in other parts of his works, bestows the

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highest

(f) Erasmus's dedication of this book to our Archbishop, deserves some attention. 'This address to Warham, (says Dr. Jortin), is not in the usual stile of dedications, stuffed only with compliments: many things are contained in it of great utility. He complains most justly of the little care, which past ages had bestowed, in preserving the works of the ancient Christians. After which he says, I despise not the simple and well meaning piety of the vulgar, but I am really surprized at the perverse judgement of the multitude. We kiss the old shoes and dirty handkerchiefs of the Saints, and we neglect their books, which are the more holy and valuable relics. We lock up their shirts and clothes in cabinets adorned with jewels; but as to their writings, on which they spent so much pains, and which are still extant for our benefit, we abandon them to mouldiness and vermin.—It is not difficult (says

Erasmus) to discover the causes of this conduct. As soon as the manners of Princes degenerated into brutish tyranny, and the Bishops were intent upon acquiring profane dominion and wealth, instead of teaching the people their duty, the whole pastoral care fell to the share of those who are called *Friars*, or *Brethren*, and *Religious Men*; as if brotherly love, and Christian charity, and true religion, belonged only to them! Then polite literature began to be neglected, the knowledge of the Greek tongue was much despised, the knowledge of Hebrew still more. The study of eloquence was thrown aside: the Latin tongue, by a new accession of barbarisms, was so corrupted, that it could hardly be called a language. History and Antiquities were disregarded: learning consisted in certain sophistical quibbles and subtilties, and all science was to be fetched from the collectors of *Sums*, that is, of common

highest encomiums on the Archbishop. He calls him his only *MÆCENAS*; and says that his generosity and liberality extended not to him only, but to all men of letters (*g*). He speaks also with great respect of his learning and abilities. "How happy, (says he) how fertile, how ready, is his wit! With what ability and readiness does he manage the most arduous affairs! How extensive is his learning! And yet what uncommon kindness and courtesy does he shew to all! In this he is truly royal; for he suffers no one to depart from him sorrowfully! How great is his liberality! And with what readiness and cheerfulness does he perform generous actions! Lastly, notwithstanding his elevated station, so far is he removed from any thing like pride, that he alone seems ignorant of his high rank and dignity. No man is more faithful, nor more steady, in his adherence to his friends. In short, he is, in every respect, a truly noble and praiseworthy Primate."

Eraſmus's friendship and regard for Warham, may reasonably be ſuppoſed to have made him ſomewhat partial in his favour. We have, however, no reaſon to ſuſpect the ſincerity of Eraſmus, in what he ſays of the Archbishop. For he drew the following character of him after his death, (which he appears greatly and very ſincerely to have lamented), when he could have no temptation to flattery. After having obſerved, that Warham very much conciliated the regard and eſteem of that penetrating Prince Henry VII. by his able diſcharge of ſome Embaſſies in which he had employed him, he takes notice of his elevation to the See of Canterbury. "By the gravity and ſolemnity (ſays he) with which he diſcharged this weighty employment, he added to its dignity. He was afterwards conſtrained to take upon him the office of Chancellor; which is, in England, an office of the higheſt dignity and importance. For the Chancellor is, as it were, the eye, the mouth, and the right hand, of the King, and the ſupreme Judge of all the kingdom of England. The duties of this important employment he diſcharged for many

mon places of Philoſophy and Divinity. Theſe compilers were always dogmatical and impudent in proportion to their ignorance: they were glad to have antient authors diſregarded, or, which is very probable, they gave an helping hand to deſtroy thoſe books, which if they had ever read, it was to no purpoſe, becauſe they were not capable of underſtanding them."

Archbiſhop Warham wrote a very polite letter to Eraſmus, and thanked him in the moſt obliging manner for having conferred immortality upon him, by this dedication of his edition of Jerom.

(*g*) Among many other inſtances

of Warham's generoſity to Eraſmus, he gave him the Rectory of Aſdington in Kent, in the year 1511. But at the requeſt of Eraſmus, he preſented another perſon to it, and charged the living with a penſion of twenty pounds a year to be paid to him, to which he added twenty more out of his own pocket. This cuſtom of charging livings with penſions, paid to thoſe who reſigned them, was become very common, ſays Dr. Knight; but Warham ſo much diſapproved the practice, that he determined never to grant the favour to any other beſides Eraſmus, whom he excepted for his ſingular merits.

many years with such eminent ability, that you would have said he was born for that office only; and would have supposed him to be altogether disengaged from every other care. While to those who observed the vigilance and attention which he displayed, in the exercise of his ecclesiastical functions, he appeared entirely free from every temporal concern, He so well husbanded his time, that he found it sufficient for the exact and punctual discharge of the daily duties of religion; to hear and determine causes; to execute negotiations; to attend the King in Council, whenever such important matters arose as required it; to visit churches, wherever his presence was necessary; to receive guests, which frequently amounted to the number of two hundred; and lastly, he found leisure for reading and study (z)."

"That which enabled him (proceeds Erasmus) to go through such various cares and employments, was, that no part of his time, nor no degree of his attention, were taken up with hunting, or gaming, in idle or trifling conversation, or in luxury or voluptuousness. Instead of any diversions or amusements of this kind, he delighted in the reading of some good and pleasing author, or in the conversation of some learned man. And although he sometimes had Prelates, Dukes, and Earls as his guests, he never spent more than an hour at dinner. The entertainment which he provided for his friends, was liberal and splendid, and suitable to the dignity of his rank; but he never touched any dainties of any kind himself. He seldom tasted wine; and when he had attained the age of seventy years, drank nothing, for the most part, but a little small beer. But notwithstanding his great temperance and abstemiousness, he added to the cheerfulness and festivity of every entertainment at which he was present, by the pleasantness of his countenance, and the vivacity and agreeableness of his conversation. The same sobriety was seen in him after dinner as before. He abstained from suppers altogether; unless he happened to have any very familiar friends with him, of which number I was; when he would, indeed, sit down to table, but then could scarcely be said to eat any thing. If that did not happen to be the case, he employed the time by others usually appropriated to suppers, in study or devotion. But as he was remarkably agreeable and facetious in his discourse, but without biting or buffoonry, so he delighted much in jesting freely with his friends. But scurrility, defamation, or slander, he abhorred, and avoided as he would a snake. In this manner did this great man make his days sufficiently long, of the shortness of which many complain."

(z) Erasmus in another place, none of his domestics and dependents observes of Warham, that he was to be lazy and useless. never idle himself, and would suffer



The Life of WILLIAM GROCYN.

WILLIAM GROCYN was born at Bristol, in the year 1442. He was educated in grammar learning at Wykeham's school at Winchester; and made perpetual Fellow of New College in 1467. In 1479, he was presented by the Warden and Fellows of that College to the Rectory of Newton-Longville in Buckinghamshire. But notwithstanding that, as he still resided chiefly at Oxford, the society of Magdalen College made him their divinity-reader, about the beginning of Richard the Third's reign; and that King coming soon after to Oxford, he had the honour to hold a disputation before him; with which Richard is said to have been so highly pleased, that he rewarded Grocyn most graciously.

In 1485, he was made a Prebendary of Lincoln; but in 1488, he quitted his reader's place at Magdalen College, in order to travel into foreign countries. He was stimulated to this by a violent desire of making a further progress in learning, which was then at a very low ebb in this kingdom. As to the Greek language, it was then scarcely understood here at all. Grocyn was, before he set out upon his travels, greatly distinguished for his learning; but the acquisitions which he had already made, only encreased his desire of higher attainments. In pursuance of his design, therefore, he went into Italy, where he perfected himself in the Greek and Latin languages under Demetrius Chalcondyles and Politian (b).

Grocyn having thus completed his studies abroad, returned into his own country, and fixed himself at Exeter College in Oxford in 1491, where he took the degree of Batchelor in Divinity. He publicly taught the Greek language at Oxford; and being in this situation when Erasmus came to Oxford, he assisted that

(b) DEMETRIUS CHALCONDYLES was a native of Athens, and scholar of Theodore Gaza, and one of those Greeks who about the time of the taking of Constantinople, went into the west; an event which, as we have already observed, contributed greatly towards the restoration of learning in Europe. For these learned Greeks, among whom were Theodorus Gaza, Constantinus Lascharis, Chrysoloras, and Trapezuntius, being obliged to quit their native country,

were forced to teach Greek in Italy for their subsistence. And this occasioning learning to flourish again in Italy, attracted thither ingenious persons from every nation, particularly from England.

At the invitation of Laurence de Medicis, Chalcondyles professed to teach the Greek language at Florence, in 1479; where he had for his rival the Famous Angelo Politian, to whom Laurence had committed the tuition of one of his sons. After the

that great man, who became his auditor, in attaining a more perfect knowledge of the Greek. He did many kind and friendly offices to Erasmus, and introduced him to Archbishop Warham, who was afterwards his generous friend and patron. But the generosity of Warham to Erasmus was at first not very considerable. Erasmus having translated the Hecuba of Euripides into Latin verses, added to it some poems, and dedicated the volume to Warham. The Prelate received his dedication courteously, but made Erasmus only a small present. As he was returning to London from the palace at Lambeth, his friend Grocyn, who had accompanied him thither, asked him in the boat, what present he had received. Erasmus laughing, answered, "A very considerable sum;" which Grocyn would not believe. Having told him what it was, Grocyn replied, that the Prelate was rich enough, and generous enough, to have made him a much handsomer present; but that he certainly suspected, that Erasmus had put stale goods upon him, and had already dedicated that book elsewhere, and to some other patron. Erasmus asked him, how such a suspicion could have entered into his head. *Quia scis solentis vos*, said Grocyn; *that is*, because such hungry scholars as you, who stroll about the world, and dedicate books to Noblemen, to whom you can find access, are apt to make use of this trick (c).

Erasmus boarded a considerable time with Grocyn; but Grocyn, though in no affluence of circumstances, would not take any thing for Erasmus's board. And that great man, in several of his epistles, speaks of Grocyn in such a manner, as shews that he entertained the most sincere regard for him, as well as the highest opinion of his abilities, learning, and integrity.

While Dr. Colet was Dean of St. Paul's, according to Anthony Wood, Grocyn gave a remarkable evidence of the candour and ingenuoufness of his temper. He read in St. Paul's cathedral a public lecture upon the book of DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITA,

the death of Laurence, Chalcondyles was invited to Milan by Lewis Sfortia; which invitation he accepted, either because he was tired with contending with Politian, or because he was hurt with Politian's acknowledged superiority in Latin learning. Here he taught Greek a considerable time with great reputation, and died about the year 1510, when he is supposed to have been above eighty years of age.

ANGELO POLITIAN was born at Monte Pulciano, in Tuscany, in July 1454. He learned the Greek tongue under Andronicus of Theſſalonica, and made a great progress in it; inſomuch that he is ſaid to have written verſes both in Greek and Latin, when

he was not more than twelve years of age. He ſtudied alſo the Platonic Philoſophy under Marſilius Facinus, and that of Ariſtotle under Argyropylus. He was made profeſſor of the Greek and Latin tongues at Florence, and acquired ſo much reputation by his lectures, that the ſcholars left Chalcondyles for the ſake of hearing him. The reaſon was, that Chalcondyles, though a man of great learning, was inferior to Politian in point of elegance, taſte, and genius. Politian died at forty years of age, in 1494. His moral character is ſaid to have been not very eſtimable.

(c) *Vid.* the learned Dr. Jortin's very valuable life of Erasmus, V. 1. P. 33.

PAGITA, commonly called *HIERARCHIA ECCLESIASTICA*; it being customary at that time for the public lecturers, both in the Universities, and in the cathedral churches, to read upon any book, rather than upon the Scriptures, till Dean Colet reformed that practice. Grocyn, in the preface to his lecture, declaimed with great warmth against those, who either denied or doubted of the authority of the book on which he was reading. But after he had continued to read on this book a few weeks, and had more thoroughly examined the matter, he entirely changed his sentiments; and openly, fairly, and candidly declared, that he had been in an error; and that the said book, in his judgment, was spurious, and never written by that author, who is in the Acts of the Apostles called Dionysius the Areopagite.

But when Dean Colet had introduced the custom of reading lectures upon some part or other of the Scriptures, at his cathedral, he engaged Grocyn, according to Dr. Knight, as one of the most learned and able men he could meet with, in that useful employment. And having afterwards resigned his Rectory of Newton Longeville, Grocyn was, on the 17th of April, 1506, elected master of Allhallows College at Maidstone in Kent. This was all the preferment he ever had; which, as Dr. Knight observes, was far below the worth of so great a man.

Grocyn is said to have had no esteem for Plato, but he applied himself intensely to Aristotle; whose whole works he had formed a design of translating, in conjunction with William Latimer (d), Linacre, and More, but did not pursue it. He died at Maidstone, in the beginning of the year 1522, aged eighty, of a stroke of the Palsy, which he had received a year before; and which made him, says Erasmus, *SIST IPSI SUPERSTITEM*; that is, outlive his senses. He was buried in the choir of the church at Maidstone. Dr. Linacre was the executor of his will, and residuary Legatee; and his godson, William Lily, the grammarian, had in it a legacy of five shillings.

Grocyn, by his generosity to his friends, reduced himself to straits; and was forced to pawn his plate to Dr. Young, master of the rolls. But the Doctor returned it to him again by his will, without taking either principal or interest. Erasmus represents him as one of the best Divines and scholars of the English nation. A Latin epistle of Grocyn's to Aldus Manutius is prefixed to Linacre's translation of Proclus de Sphæra, printed at Venice in 1494. Erasmus says, that "there is nothing extant of his but this epistle; indeed a very elaborate and acute one, and written in good Latin." His publishing nothing more seems

(d) WILLIAM LATIMER was school-fellow with Sir Thomas More, and became Fellow of All-Soul's College at Oxford in the year 1489. Afterwards travelling into Italy, he settled for a time at Padua, where he

greatly improved himself, particularly in the Greek tongue. Returning to England, he was incorporated master of arts at Oxford in 1513; and soon after had for his pupil Reginald Pole, afterwards Cardinal and Archbishop

seems to have been owing to too much delicacy : for Erasmus adds, " he was of so nice a taste, that he had rather write nothing, than write ill." Anthony Wood, however, says, (Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Col. 13, 14.) that Grocyn wrote,

TRACT. CONTRA HOSTIOLUM JO. WYCLEVI. EPISTOLÆ AD ERASMUM & ALIOS. GRAMMATICA. VULGARIA PUE-
RORUM. EPIGRAMMATA.

With other things which are mentioned by Bale and Leland.

Archbishop of Canterbury ; by whose interest, it is said, he obtained the Rectories of Saintbury and Weston-under-edge in Gloucestershire, and a Prebend of Salisbury. He was serviceable to Erasmus in the study of the Greek language, at Oxford ; and assisted him in the second edition of his New Testament. He died very aged in 1545, and was buried in the chancel of his church of Saintbury. He was one of the greatest men of that age ; a master of all sacred and

profane learning ; but he never published any thing ; so that there are only a few letters of his to Erasmus extant. That great man styles Mr. Latimer an excellent Divine, conspicuous for his integrity ; and praises his candour, and more than virgin modesty. Leland celebrates also his eloquence, judgment, piety, and generosity.—*Vid.* Athenæ Oxoniensis, Edit. 1691. Col. 56. Biographia Britannica, Vol. V. P. 2970. Knight's life of Erasmus, P. 29.



The Life of Dr. THOMAS LINACRE.

THE learned Physician whose life we are now entering upon, was, as well as the subject of our preceding life, one of the first restorers of polite literature, and the learning of the antients, in this kingdom. For about a century before this period, every species of learning, except the study of the law, was at a very low ebb in England; but a very different scene of things is now opened to our view. We are now come to an age, in which literature and science was happily and assiduously cultivated, and patronized and encouraged by the Great; and in which a very considerable number of eminent and illustrious persons arose, who have been deservedly celebrated for their genius or their learning.

THOMAS LINACRE, or LYNACER, was born in the city of Canterbury, about the year 1460; but descended, according to Anthony Wood, from the Lynacres, of Lynacre-Hall, in the parish of Chesterfield in Derbyshire. He was educated in the King's school at Canterbury, under the learned William Tilly, alias Selling. From thence he was sent to Oxford, and chosen Fellow of All-Souls College in the year 1484. He made a great progress in learning at the University; but, for further improvement, travelled into Italy, in the company of his schoolmaster Tilly (e), who was sent Ambassador to the Court of Rome by King Henry VII.

At Florence Linacre was treated with great kindness and respect by Duke Lorenzo de Medicis, one of the politest men of that age, and a great patron of letters: who favoured him so much in his studies, as to afford him the advantage of having the same preceptors with his own sons. Linacre knew how to make the proper advantages of so favourable an opportunity; and accordingly, by the instructions of Demetrius Chalcondyles, he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue; and so far improved

(e) WILLIAM TILLY, alias DE SELLING, was born at Selling, near Feversham in Kent, and educated at All-Souls College, Oxford. He travelled into Italy, and studied the Civil Law at Bologna; and the Greek and Latin languages under Politian, and other great masters. Whilst he was there, he took the opportunity of purchasing many curious manuscripts, which he brought over with him; but they were afterwards destroyed by fire, and among them Cicero's book *DE REPUBLICA*. In 1472, he was elected Prior of the monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury, and died in 1495, after having been employed by King Henry VII. in embassies to the Court of Rome.

improved himself under his Latin master Angelo Politian, as to arrive at a greater correctness of stile, than even Politian himself.

Linacre, having thus acquired an uncommon share of classical learning, went to Rome; and, under Hermolaus Barbarus, applied himself to the study of natural philosophy and physic. He particularly made it his business to be well acquainted with the works of Aristotle and Galen in the original; and he translated and published several tracts of the latter. And, in conjunction with Grocyn and William Latimer, he undertook a translation of Aristotle. These learned men, however, did not execute that design; but though none of Linacre's translations of any of Aristotle's pieces were ever published, it is evident, from Erasmus's epistles, that he did translate some of them.

Upon his return from Italy, Linacre applied himself to the practice of physic at Oxford, where he was created or incorporated doctor of physic; and being made public professor of his faculty, read medicinal lectures there. But he had not been long at Oxford, before he was sent for to Court by King Henry VII. who appointed him preceptor and physician to his son Prince Arthur. Dr. Knight says, that "Linacre was ill used by one Bernard Andreas, tutor to Prince Arthur. Linacre had translated Proclus, and dedicated it to Henry VII. and this sycophant told the King, that Proclus had been already translated by another hand; and so it had, but in a wretched manner. The King hearing this, was so prejudiced against Linacre, that he ever after abhorred him as an impostor." But Dr. Jortin observes upon this, that "thus indeed Erasmus himself hath related the story, and Knight follows him: but Erasmus was mistaken in some of the circumstances. Linacre was preceptor to Prince Arthur, and to him he dedicated his version of Proclus."

But whatever disgust King Henry VII. might unjustly have conceived against Dr. Linacre, he was in great favour with that Prince's son and successor, Henry VIII. to whom he was physician, who had an high opinion of his skill; and he was also physician to the Princess Mary. Linacre had a great friendship for Erasmus, and warmly recommended him to the King. Erasmus often consulted Linacre on account of his frequent indispositions, which came early upon him; and when he was sick at Paris, he complained that he had no Linacre there, to assist him, and prescribe for him. Another time, he wrote to him from St. Omer's, desiring that he would send him a prescription; and speaks in a way which, says Dr. Knight, shews that our physicians, in those times, did not make up their own medicines, but sent their bills to the apothecaries.

But though Dr. Linacre had, by his great learning and abilities, raised himself to the honour of being physician to the King, and to the top of his profession, he resolved, in the de-

cline of life, to change his profession for that of divinity. And it is said, that till towards the latter end of his life, he had scarce any acquaintance with the Sacred writings. We are told, as a remarkable evidence of this, that the Doctor, having taken the New Testament, and read the beginning of it, particularly the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of St. Matthew, he threw the book away with great violence, and swore "that either this was not the Gospel, or we were not Christians."

Dr. Linacre having, however, now applied himself to the study of divinity, entered into holy orders, and was collated on the 23d of October, 1509, to the Rectory of Mertham, which he resigned within a month; and on the 14th of December following he was installed into the Prebend of Elton in the church of Wells; and on the 17th of October, 1518, into the Prebend of South Newbald, in the church of York. The 9th of April, 1518, he was admitted Precentor in the same church, but resigned it in the November following. Some of his preferments he received from Archbishop Warham, as he gratefully acknowledged in a letter to that Prelate. According to Dr. Knight, he succeeded Ammonius, a learned Italian, and friend of Erasmus, as Prebendary of St. Stephen's, Westminster. And Bishop Tanner informs us, that he was also Rector of Wigan in Lancashire.

It appears, however, that Dr. Linacre, notwithstanding his Ecclesiastical employments, was still attentive to the interests of the profession of physic: for he founded two lectures of physic in Oxford, (one of twelve pounds a year, and the other of six) and one at Cambridge (f). The two lectures in Oxford were not settled till December 10, 1549, by the survivor of his trustees, Tonsfall, Bishop of Durham. He fixed them to Merton College, because more of that society than any other, applied themselves to the study of physic. The lecturers are obliged to explain Hippocrates and Galen to the young students in the University. And if there be none in that College capable of performing this duty, proper persons in any other society may be chosen to read these lectures.

But Dr. Linacre had further views for the advantage of the medical profession. He observed the low condition in which the practice of physic then was; that it was chiefly engrossed by illiterate Monks and Empirics, who shamefully imposed upon the

(f) We find in the British Museum, the substance of 'An indenture, 16th Aug. 16 Hen. VIII. between Thomas Linacre, M. D. and physician to Hen. VIII. Cuthbert, Bishop of London, Sir Thomas More, Knight, under-treasurer of England, Master John Stokely, Clerk, D. D. and William Shelley,

' Serjeant at Law, and Recorder of London, on the one part; and ' Nich. Metcalf, Fell. and Schol. on the other; (which) witnesseth, that ' whereas the said Thomas Linacre, ' by his Test. 17 Jun. 1524. 16 Hen. ' VIII. amongst other things has ' willed that all his gardens, lands, ' &c. lately called the Bell and Lan- ' thorn

the public ; the Bishop of London, or the Dean of St. Paul's for the time being, having the chief power in approving and admitting the practitioners in London, and the rest of the Bishops in their several dioceses. And they, we may reasonably suppose, were often very inadequate judges of the qualifications of practitioners in physic. Dr. Linacre, therefore, who saw there was no other way of redressing this grievance, but by giving encouragement to men of reputation and learning, and placing the power of licensing in more proper hands, projected the foundation of the College of Physicians. And for this purpose, using his interest at Court, and particularly with Cardinal Wolsey, he procured, in 1518, letters patent from King Henry VIII. which were confirmed by Parliament, to establish a corporate society of physicians in London ; by virtue of which authority, the College, as a corporation, now enjoys the sole privilege of admitting all persons whatsoever to the practice of physic, as well as that of supervising all prescriptions. Dr. Linacre was the first President of the College of Physicians after its erection ; and he held that office as long as he lived. The assemblies were kept in his own house in Knight-riders-street, which he left upon his death as a legacy to the College, and which they still continue in possession of. And that learned body have since done great credit and service to their country, both by their practice and writings.

“ The wisdom of such an institution (says Dr. Friend) speaks for itself. Linacre's scheme, without doubt, was not only to create a good understanding and unanimity among his own profession, which of itself was an excellent thought, but to make them more useful to the public ; and he imagined, that by separating them from the vulgar Empirics, and setting them upon such a reputable foot of distinction, there would always arise a spirit of emulation among men liberally educated, which would animate them in pursuing their enquiries into the nature of diseases, and the methods of cure, for the benefit of mankind ;

‘ thorn in Adling-street, in the parish
‘ of St. Benet, besides Baynard castle,
‘ &c. shall be put into Mortmain to
‘ the aforesaid master, &c. and over
‘ and besides hath given 20*l*. and
‘ 19 marks, to be paid for the intent
‘ that the master, &c. shall purchase
‘ lands, &c. within the space of
‘ twelve months after the date
‘ hereof. For and in consideration
‘ whereof the said master, &c. cove-
‘ nant and bind themselves to the
‘ said Thomas Linacre, that they
‘ yearly after the decease of the said
‘ Thomas Linacre, shall pay the sum

‘ of 12*l*. for a lecture in physic, to be
‘ founded in Cambridge by the said
‘ Thomas, or by them, he being
‘ dead. The reader to be chosen by
‘ the master, and seven seniors of
‘ the said College.

‘ There was a pension of 40*s*. re-
‘ served during the lives of his two
‘ sisters, Alice and Joan, (which Joan
‘ was married to one Bygons), and
‘ the pension was paid to Joan singly,
‘ May 28. An. 28 Hen. VIII.’

Vid. Mr. Baker's Collections, Vol.
XIX. among the Harleian MSS. in
the British Museum, N^o. 7046. 17.

kind; and perhaps (adds the Doctor) no founder ever had the good fortune to have his designs succeed more to his wish."

This great and learned man died of the stone, with great pain and torment, on the 20th of October, 1524, at the age of sixty-four years, and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral; where an handsome monument was erected, in 1557, to his memory, with a Latin inscription upon it, by the learned Dr. John Caius, or Kaye; in which he gives him the character of the most learned man of his age, both in Greek and Latin, and in the art of physic; and by his uncommon skill therein, he performed extraordinary cures, in many cases which had been thought desperate. He further adds, that he had an utter detestation of every thing that was trickish or dishonourable; that he was a most faithful friend; and by the greatest part of the world, and by all ranks of men, valued and beloved.

Dr. Linacre was a man of uncommon learning; and for his accurate skill in the Greek and Latin tongues, in other sciences, and in his own profession, he was esteemed the ornament of his age. It has been made a question, whether he was a better Latinist or Grecian, a better Grammarian or Physician; and whether he was more distinguished for his moral or intellectual qualities. He had great natural sagacity, and was of a very discerning judgment in his own profession. Dr. Friend says of Dr. Linacre, that if we consider him with regard to his skill in the two learned languages, he was much the most accomplished scholar of that age; and that it is paying no compliment to him to say, that he was one of the first, in conjunction with Colet, Lily, Grocyn, and Latimer, all of whom got their knowledge of the Greek tongue abroad, who revived the learning of the antients in this island. Erasmus, in an epistle to one of his English friends, observes, "what abundant satisfaction he had taken in being so long in England, a country that (he said) had pleased him beyond all he had yet seen; for he had found here a clear and wholesome air, and so much humanity and learning, not vulgar and trivial, but profound, exact, and antique, both in the Greek and Latin languages, that he could not longer desire to see Italy, except merely for the sight of it. As often as I hear Colet, (says he) methinks I hear the divine Plato himself; in Grocyn, who cannot but admire that universal compass of learning; what more acute, more profound, more accurate, than the judgment of Linacre; what did nature ever form so soft, so sweet, so happy, as the wit of "More."

Linacre was exceedingly accurate, and even superstitiously exact, in his compositions; and found it so difficult to satisfy himself, that he had like, it is said, to have published nothing; which made Erasmus press him earnestly to communicate his labours to the public. Erasmus sometimes bantered him for giving himself up too much to grammatical studies. As Dr.

Linacre

Linacre was himself perfectly skilled in his own art, so he always shewed a remarkable kindness for all those who bent their studies that way; and wherever he found, in young students, any ingenuity, learning, modesty, good manners, and a desire to excel, he assisted them with his advice, his interest, and his purse.

His translations, and other works, were as follows:—I. The following pieces of Galen, which he rendered into elegant Latin. 1. *DE TEMPERAMENTIS ET DE INÆQUALI-TEMPERIE*, Lib. 4. This book was printed at Venice in 1498, at Cambridge in 1521, in 4to, and at Paris in 1523, dedicated to Pope Leo X. It was one of the first books printed at Cambridge by John Siborch, who, with his brother Nicholas, were friends to Erasmus at Cambridge. 2. *DE TUENDA SANITATE, VEL VALETUDINE*, Lib. 6. Printed at Cambridge in 1517, and at Paris in 1530, dedicated to King Henry VIII. 3. *DE METHODO MEDENDI, SIVE DE MORBIS CURANDIS*, Lib. 14. Printed at Paris in 8vo. in 1526, revised by Budæus, and printed in 1530 by Colinaeus. Dr. Friend says, that anyone, perusing the preface of this book, without knowing it to be a translation, might, from the exactness and propriety of the style, guess it to be written in a classical age. 4. *DE NATURALIBUS, SEU NATURÆ FACULTATIBUS*, Lib. 3. 5. *DE PULSUM USU*, Lib. 1. 6. *DE SYMPTOMATIBUS*, Lib. 4.

II. A Latin translation from the Greek of PROCLUS OF THE SPHERE, dedicated to Prince Arthur. Aldus Manutius, the editor, gives a great character of it, in an epistle prefixed thereto.

III. THE *RUDIMENTS OF GRAMMAR*, for the use of the Princess Mary. Printed at London, by Pynson. George Buchanan translated this into Latin for the use of his pupil Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassiles, and caused it to be printed at Paris with the title of *RUDIMENTA GRAMMATICÆ THOMÆ LINACRI, &c.*

IV. *DE EMENDATA STRUCTURA LATINI SERMONIS*, Lib. 6. Printed at London in 8vo. by Richard Pynson, in 1524, and afterwards at Paris by Robert Stephens, in 1527 and 1532, with a dedication by Ph. Melancthon to W. Riffenstein; wherein he calls this work, the most perfect in its kind. He, however, confessed, that Linacre might be thought by many of the wiser readers to be a little too curious in the minutest matters. And, therefore, though he earnestly importuned the masters in Germany to receive it into their schools, yet he intimated that it was too hard for beginners. Dr. Knight says, that this most accurate commentary was probably printed with a respect to St. Paul's school in London, Linacre being encouraged thereto by Dean Colet; though he refused after all to admit it into his school, considering it as too acute and copious a work, rather a guide to critics, than a help to beginners. This Dr. Linacre highly resented; for it cost him a great deal of time and trouble, he being

ing twenty years together forming and revising it, in the midst of his practice of physic, and his philosophical and mathematical studies. Dr. Knight adds, that the book has since met with great applause, had several editions abroad, some with annotations, and has been had in the highest reputation as a classic.

Anthony Wood also ascribes to our author, a book, intitled, "Compendious Regiment, or a Dietarie of Health, used at Montpillour." Lond. by Rob. Wyer, 8vo.

Erasmus bestows the highest encomiums upon Linacre and his works; he commends the propriety, conciseness, and elegance of his versions; and even affirms that they excel their originals; but, at the same time, he censures him for his too laborious accuracy. Dr. Friend observes, that "Linacre's Latin style was very elegant and accurate; so far, that his friend Erasmus thought it too elaborate: yet Sir John Cheke (chiefly perhaps out of contradiction to his antagonist Bishop Gardiner) seems to censure it as not Ciceronian enough; and represents him, as, out of some morose humour, an enemy to that great orator. However, it is certain, that Linacre had a better taste of a truly classical way of writing, than either of these modern authors: the former, though a copious and clear writer, yet did not study any accuracy of style; and the latter, as the fashion was then, went a little too far in his imitation of Tully's numbers and periods, used mostly by him in his orations, and his other rhetorical pieces. Whereas Linacre, tho' well acquainted with all Tully's writings, chose rather to follow the style of his epistles, and philosophical works: and besides, endeavoured to express the elegancy of Terence, and what was often more apposite to the physical subjects he treated of, the neatness of Cælius."

Dr. Knight mentions it, as an honour to the faculty, that "as the first teacher of the Greek tongue at Oxford was Linacre, so the next of any note was Dr. John Clement, another very learned physician." The Doctor also says, that "Erasmus exhorted the physicians of his time to study Greek, as more necessary to their profession than to any other. He recites the names of the most eminent physicians in Europe, who, sensible of the want of that language, learned it in their declining years. He mentions none, who had the good fortune to learn it when young, but our Linacre and Ruellius. He hopes, that all students in that faculty will labour to attain it; and he thinks in a little time no one will be so impudent, as to profess physic without it."

To this the ingenious Dr. Jortin adds, "If Erasmus had lived in these times, he would have found it needless to exhort the gentlemen of that profession to the study of the learned languages, and of polite literature, in which so many of them have distinguished themselves."



The Life of JOHN FISHER, Bishop of ROCHESTER.

JOHAN FISHER was born at Beverley in Yorkshire, in the year 1459. His father, Robert Fisher, was a merchant in that town, and left him an orphan very young. But his mother, who was a worthy and pious woman, though she married again, did not neglect this son, nor another younger one, named Robert, whom she had also by her first husband; but caused them both to be very carefully educated. As soon as they were capable of receiving instruction, they were committed to the care of a Priest of the collegiate church of Beverley, by whom they were initiated in grammar learning. And as John Fisher gave very promising indications of a capacity for literature, his friends determined to send him to the University. Accordingly, in 1484, he was sent to Michael-House in Cambridge, and placed under the tuition of William de Melton. He took the degrees in arts in 1488 and 1491; and being elected Fellow of his house, was one of the Proctors of the University in 1495. The same year, he was elected Master of Michael-House, in the room of his tutor, William de Melton, preferred to the dignity of Chancellor of the cathedral church of York. And having now for some time applied himself to the study of divinity, he took holy orders, and greatly distinguished himself as a Divine.

In 1501, he took the degree of Doctor in divinity, and went through his public exercise for that purpose with great applause. He was afterwards chosen Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, in which office he was continued for two years successively (5). And it is said by some, that during his residence in the University, he had Prince Henry, afterwards King Henry VIII. under his tuition. But the fame of Dr. Fisher's great learning, piety, and virtue, having now reached the ears of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the King's mother, she be-

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(5) It is said in the *Biographia Britannica*, V. III. P. 1929, that he was chosen *Chancellor* of the University of Cambridge in 1501; but according to the account of his life, published under the name of Dr. Thomas Bailey, he was first made Vice-Chancellor, which office he held for two years, and was not raised to

the high Chancellorship of the University (which is much the most probable) till after his elevation to the See of Rochester, which was in 1504.—*Vid* the life and death of the renowned John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, by T. Bailey, D. D. Edit. 1739. P. 10.

came exceedingly desirous of having him for her Chaplain and Confessor, and accordingly prevailed upon him to quit the University for that purpose.

In this station his conduct and behaviour so entirely gained him the regard, esteem, and approbation of the pious Countess, that she committed herself and her whole family to his government and direction. She was herself naturally inclined to acts of piety and charity; and Dr. Fisher made no other use of his influence over her, than to excite her still more to the practice of generosity, liberality, and beneficence. It was by his advice and persuasion, that she undertook those munificent foundations at Cambridge, of which an account hath been already given in the life of this Lady.

In 1502, Dr. Fisher was appointed, by charter, the Lady Margaret's first divinity professor in Cambridge. And, in 1504, having attained the forty-fifth year of his age, he was, very unexpectedly, raised to the See of Rochester, upon the translation of Richard Fitz-James to the See of London. And the same year he was chosen High-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. It was at first suspected, that Fisher owed his promotion to the interest and influence of the Countess of Richmond; but when a surmise of this sort was hinted to the King, Henry, we are told, replied, "Indeed the modesty of the man, together with my mother's silence, spake in his behalf;" and the King also declared, that his mother never so much as opened her mouth for him in that particular; and that the great learning and piety, which he had observed, and often heard to be in the man, were the only advocates that pleaded for him. It appears, however, that Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who was very much in the favour of Henry VII. had very much contributed to give that Prince so favourable an idea of Fisher, by his frequent recommendations of him, and the honourable mention which he made of him.

Bishop Fisher was afterwards offered the Bishoprics of Lincoln and Ely; but he would never exchange his small Bishopric for a better. He used to call his church his wife; and would sometimes say, in the latter part of his life, that he would not change his little old wife, to whom he had been so long wedded, for a wealthier. "Though others (said he) have larger revenues, I have fewer souls under my care; so that when I shall have to give an account of both, which must be very soon, I would not desire my condition to have been better than it is."

About the time that Fisher was promoted to his Bishopric, he was attending the building and foundation of Christ's College in Cambridge; and as he was not accommodated with a convenient lodging, he was in 1505, on the death of Dr. Wilkinson, President of Queen's College, chose by the society their President in his room. This headship he thankfully accepted, and kept it a little above three years. In 1506, he perfected the foundation

foundation of Christ's College, and was appointed in the statutes, Visitor for his life, after the death of the munificent Foundress. The King's licence for founding St. John's College was obtained soon after : but before it was passed in due form, the King died, on the 1st of April, 1509, as did also the Countess of Richmond, his mother, on the 29th of June following. And the care of the new foundation now devolved upon her executors, of whom the most faithful and most active, and indeed the sole and principal agent, was Bishop Fisher; and he executed the trust reposed in him with the utmost application, vigour, and integrity. In 1512, he was appointed to go to the Council of Lateran at Rome, tho' he never went, as appears from procuratorial powers, and letters recommending him to great men there, still extant in the archives of St. John's College. This College being finished in 1516, he went to Cambridge, and opened it with due solemnity; and was also commissioned to make statutes for the same.

Upon Luther's first appearance, and vigorous opposition to the errors and innovations of Popery, Bishop Fisher, as a zealous champion for the Romish Church, was one of the first to enter the lists against him (o). The Doctrines of Luther soon began to spread greatly in Germany, Switzerland, and the Low Countries, and were favourably received by great numbers in England. And Lutheran books were brought over into England, "where (says Bishop Burnet) there was much matter already prepared to be wrought on, not only by the prejudices they had conceived against the corrupt Clergy, but by the opinions of the Lollards, which had been now in England since the days of Wickliff, for about 150 years; between which opinions, and the doctrines of the Reformers, there was great affinity." Bishop Fisher, however, not only endeavoured to prevent the propagation of the Lutheran doctrines in his own diocese, and in the University of Cambridge, over which, as Chancellor, he had a very great influence; but also preached and wrote with great vehemence and earnestness against Luther.

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(o) It was the scandalous traffic of Indulgences in Germany, which first gave rise to LUTHER's opposition to the Papal See. Pope Leo X. who succeeded Julius II. in 1513, formed a design to complete the building of the sumptuous and magnificent church of St. Peter's at Rome, which had been begun by Julius, but still required very large sums to be finished. The method of raising money by *Indulgences* had formerly, on several occasions, been practised by the Court of Rome, and none had been found more effectual:

Leo, therefore, in the year 1517, in order to raise money for his present design, and other purposes, published General Indulgences throughout all Europe, in favour of those who would contribute any sum to the building of St. Peter's; and appointed persons in different countries to preach up these Indulgences, and to receive money for them. Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburgh, who was soon after made a Cardinal, had a commission for Germany; but he gave out this commission to John Icelcius,

King Henry VIII. himself also was so full of Zeal for the Catholic Church, that he himself wrote and published a book, at least it was published in his name, intitled, *AN ASSERTION OF THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS AGAINST MARTIN LUTHER.*

"This book (says Burnet) was magnified by the Clergy, as "the most learned work that ever the sun saw; and he was "compared to King Solomon, and to all the Christian Empe- "rors that ever had been: and it was the chief subject of flat- "tery for many years, besides the glorious title of Defender of "the

Eccelesius, a Dominican Friar, and others of his order. These Indulgences were immediately exposed to sale, and Eccelesius boasted of 'having 'so large a commission from the 'Pope, that though a man should 'have deflowered the Virgin Mary, 'yet for money, he might be par- 'doned.' He added further, that 'he did not only give pardon for 'his past, but for sins to come.' A book came out also at the same time, under the sanction of the Archbi- shop, in which orders were given to the Commissioners and Collectors, to enforce and press the power of In- dulgences. These Commissioners and Collectors performed their office with great zeal indeed, but in so shameless a manner, that even the common people saw through the cheat, and were convinced, that, under a pretence of Indulgences, they only meant to plunder the Ger- mans; and that, far from being sol- licitous about saving the souls of others, their only view was to en- rich themselves. These proceedings particularly inflamed the zeal of LUTHER, then a Monk, and professor of divinity at Wittenberg; who being of a temper naturally warm and ac- tive, and in the present case unable to contain himself, determined at all events to declare himself against the Pope's Collectors. Upon the eve of All Saints, therefore, in the year 1517 he publicly fixed up at the church, next to the castle of Wit- tenberg a thesis upon Indulgences; in the beginning of which, he chal- lenged any one to oppose it, either by writing or disputation. This thesis contained ninety five propositions; in which, though he did not directly oppose the power of the Church to grant Indulgences, he yet maintained,

among other things, "That the Pope could release no punishments but what he inflicted, and Indulgences could be nothing but a relaxation of ecclesiastical penalties. That those who believed they should be saved by Indulgences only, would be damned with their masters. That contrition would procure remission of the fault and punishment without Indulgences, but that Indulgences could do nothing without contrition. And that Christians should be instructed, how much better it is to abound in works of mercy and charity to the poor, than to purchase a pardon." Erasmus said merrily of these Indul- gences, that 'they had been granted 'so largely, that poor Purgatory was 'in no small danger of being 'stripped of all its inhabitants.'

In 1520, Pope Leo published a Bull against Luther, containing a formal condemnation of him. Upon which Luther declared himself more openly; and in a book which he published, entitled, *THE CAPTIVITY OF BABYLON*, he began with a protestation, 'That he became 'every day more knowing; that he 'was ashamed and repented of 'what he had written about indul- 'gences two years before, when he 'was a slave to the superstitions of 'Rome: that he did not indeed 'then reject Indulgences, but had 'since discovered, that they are no- 'thing but impostures, fit to raise 'money, and to destroy the faith: 'that he was then content with de- 'nying the Papacy to be *Jure Di- 'vino*, but had lately been convinced 'that it was the Kingdom of Baby- 'lon: and that he absolutely denied 'the seven Sacraments, owning no 'more than three, Baptism, Pe- 'nance, and the Lord's Supper, &c.'

“ the Faith, which the Pope bestowed on him for it (*b*).” It has been thought by some, that this work was chiefly the production of Bishop Fisher : but we do not find that there is any very just ground for this. However, Luther publishing an answer to King Henry’s book, Bishop Fisher published a vindication of it, under the title of, “ A Defence of the King of England’s Assertion of the Catholic Faith against M. Luther’s “ book of the Captivity of Babylon.” The Bishop also published, “ A Defence of the Holy Order of Priesthood, against “ Martin Luther ;” with some other pieces.

But Bishop Fisher was not content with having thus far exerted himself against Luther, but had formed a design of going to Rome, in order to settle some points relating to the Church, and had made the necessary preparations for his journey thither ; but he was diverted from his purpose by Cardinal Wolsey’s calling together a synod of the whole Clergy. In this synod Bishop Fisher made the following speech ; in which, notwithstanding his bigotted attachment to the Papal See, it is apparent how much he was convinced that the manners of the Clergy needed reformation. He evidently alludes particularly to the pomp and stateliness assumed by Cardinal Wolsey ; and we cannot but applaud the plainness and integrity of the honest Prelate.

“ May it not seem displeasing (said Bishop Fisher) to your eminence, and the rest of these grave and Reverend Fathers of the Church, that I speak a few words, which I hope may not be out of season. I had thought, that when so many learned men, as substitutes for the Clergy, had been drawn into this body, that some good matters should have been propounded for the benefit and good of the Church : that the scandals that lie so heavy upon her men, and the disease which takes such hold on those advantages, might have been hereby at once removed, and also remedied. Who hath made any the least proposition against the ambition of those men, whose pride is so offensive, whilst their profession is humility ? or against the incontinency of such as have vowed chastity ? how are the goods of the Church wasted ? the lands, the tythes, and other oblations of the devout ancestors of the people (to the great scandal of their posterity) wasted in superfluous riotous expences ? How can we exhort our flocks to fly the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, when we that are Bishops set our minds on nothing more than that which we forbid ? If we should teach according to our doing,

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(*b*) “ By a singular felicity in the wording of this title, (says Mr. Horace Walpole), it suited Henry equally well, when he burned Papists or Protestants ; it suited each of his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth ; it fitted the martyr Charles,

“ and the profligate Charles ; the Romish James, and the Calvinist William ; and at last seem’d peculiarly adapted to the weak head of high church Anne. —Catal. of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. I. P. 10.

“ how absurdly would our doctrines sound in the ears of those
 “ that should hear us ? and if we teach one thing, and do ano-
 “ ther, who believeth our report ? which would seem to them no
 “ otherwise, than as if we should throw down with one hand,
 “ what we built with the other. We preach humility, sobriety,
 “ contempt of the world, &c. and the people perceive in the
 “ same men that preach this doctrine, pride and haughtiness of
 “ mind, excess in apparel, and a resignation of ourselves to all
 “ worldly pomps and vanities. And what is this otherwise,
 “ than to set the people at a stand, whether they shall follow the
 “ sight of their own eyes, or the belief of what they hear ? Ex-
 “ cuse me, Reverend Fathers ; seeing herein I blame no man
 “ more than I do myself : for sundry times, when I have settled
 “ myself to the care of my flock, to visit my diocese, to govern
 “ my church, to answer the enemies of CHRIST ; suddenly
 “ there hath come a message to me from the Court, that I must
 “ attend such a triumph, or receive such an Ambassador. What
 “ have we to do with Princes Courts ? If we are in love with
 “ Majesty, is there a greater Excellence than whom we serve ?
 “ If we are in love with stately buildings, are there higher
 “ roofs than our cathedrals ? If with apparel, is there a greater
 “ ornament than that of Priesthood ? or is there better com-
 “ pany than a communion with the Saints ? Truly, most Reve-
 “ rend Fathers, what this vanity in temporal things may work
 “ in you, I know not ; but sure I am, that, in myself, I find it to
 “ be a great impediment to devotion. Wherefore I think it ne-
 “ cessary (and high time it is) that we, that are the heads, should
 “ begin to give example to the inferior Clergy as to these parti-
 “ culars, whereby we may all be the better conformable to the
 “ image of God. For in this trade of life, which we now
 “ lead, neither can there be likelihood of perpetuity in the same
 “ state and condition wherein we now stand, or safety to the
 “ Clergy.”

Bishop Fisher continued in great favour with Henry VIII. till the affair of the divorce was set on foot, in 1527. But when that business was in agitation, the King, who had an high opinion of Fisher's integrity and learning, desired his opinion on the subject of his marriage with Queen Catherine of Arragon. Upon which the Bishop declared, “ That there was no reason
 “ at all to question the validity of the marriage, since it was
 “ good and lawful from the beginning.” And from this opi-
 “ nion nothing could ever afterwards make him recede, whatever
 “ might be the consequences, and though great pains were taken
 “ to bring him over to a contrary opinion. But by this he en-
 “ tirely lost the King's favour.

When the affair of the divorce came to be tried before the two Legates, Campejus and Wolsey, in June, 1529, Bishop Fisher was one of the Queen's Council ; and presented a book to the Legates, which he had written in defence of the marriage :
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he also at the same time made a speech, in which he desired them to take heed what they did in so weighty a business; and he greatly exerted himself in the Queen's behalf.

On the 3d of November, in the same year, a Parliament was summoned to meet; in which several bills were brought in by the Commons against some of the abuses of the Clergy, particularly against the exactions for the probates of wills, the plurality of benefices, and non-residence, and churchmen's being farmers of lands. In the passing of these bills, many severe reflections were made in the House of Commons, upon the vices and corruptions of the Clergy; which attack upon the Ecclesiastics, was supposed to be much owing to the favourable reception which the Lutheran doctrines had met with in England. When these bills against the Clergy were brought up to the House of Lords, Bishop Fisher made the following speech, in which the good Prelate sufficiently evidenced his bigotry, and his warm attachment to his HOLY MOTHER, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

“ My Lords, (said the Bishop) here are certain bills exhibited
“ against the Clergy, wherein there are complaints made against
“ the viciousness, idleness, rapacity, and cruelty of Bishops,
“ Abbots, Priests, and their officials: but, my Lords, are all vicious,
“ all idle, all ravenous, and cruel Priests, or Bishops?
“ And for such as are so, are there no laws already provided
“ against them? Is there any abuse that we do not seek to rectify?
“ Or can there be such a rectification, as that there shall
“ be no abuses? Or are not Clergymen to rectify the abuses of
“ the Clergy? Or shall men find fault with other men's manners,
“ whilst they forget their own? and punish where they
“ have no authority to correct? If we be not executive in our
“ laws, let each man suffer for his delinquency; or if we have
“ not power, aid us with your assistance, and we shall give you
“ thanks. But, my Lords, I hear there is a motion made, that
“ the small monasteries shall be taken into the King's hands,
“ which makes me fear it is not so much the good, as the
“ goods of the church, that is looked after. Truly, my
“ Lords, how this may sound in your ears, I cannot tell; but
“ to me it appears no otherwise, than as if our holy mother the
“ Church were to become a bond-maid, and be new brought
“ into servility and thralldom, and by little and little to be quite
“ banished out of those dwelling-places, which the piety and liberality
“ of our forefathers, as most bountiful benefactors, have conferred
“ upon her; otherwise, to what tendeth these portentous and curious petitions of the Commons? To no
“ other intent or purpose, but to bring the Clergy into contempt
“ with the Laity, that they may seize their patrimony.
“ But, my Lords, beware of yourselves and your country; beware
“ of your holy mother the Catholic Church; the people are subject
“ unto novelties, and Lutheranism spreads itself amongst us. Remember Germany and Bohemia, what miseries

"ries are befallen them already; and let our neighbours houses that are now on fire, teach us to beware our own disasters: wherefore, my Lords, I will tell you plainly what I think; that, except ye resist manfully, by your authorities, this violent heap of mischiefs offered by the Commons, you shall see all obedience first drawn from the Clergy, and secondly from yourselves. And, if you search into the true causes of all these mischiefs which reign among them, you shall find that they all arise through WANT OF FAITH."

This speech was received with great applause by the staunch adherents to the Church, and with equal disapprobation by the advocates for reformation. The Duke of Norfolk, addressing himself to the Bishop, said, "My Lord of Rochester, many of these words might have been well spared; but it is often seen, that the greatest clerks are not always the wisest men." But to this the Bishop smartly replied, "My Lord, I do not remember any fools in my time that ever proved great clerks." When the Commons heard of this speech of Bishop Fisher's, they were highly inflamed, and sent their speaker, Sir Thomas Audley, with thirty of their Members, to complain against him to the King. They represented to Henry, how injuriously the Bishop of Rochester had treated them, in saying that their acts flowed from the WANT OF FAITH; it being, they said, a high imputation on the whole nation, to treat the representatives of the Commons as if they had been Infidels and Heathens. And upon this the King sent for the Bishop, and asked him, "Why he spake thus?" To which Fisher, we are told, answered, that "being in Council, he spake his mind in defence of the Church, which he saw daily injured, and oppressed by the common people, whose office it was not to judge of her manners, much less to reform them; and, therefore, he thought himself in conscience bound to defend her in all that lay within his power." And upon this the King dismissed him, only bidding him "use his words more temperately." But, according to Bishop Burnet, Fisher endeavoured to excuse himself, by alledging, that when he said, ALL FLOWED FROM THE WANT OF FAITH, he only meant the kingdom of Bohemia, and did not use that expression with reference to the House of Commons. And this explanation the King sent by the Treasurer of his Household, Sir William Fitz-williams. "But though (says Burnet) the matter was passed over, yet they were not at all satisfied with it; so that they went on, laying open the abuses of the Clergy."

In 1530, Bishop Fisher was twice in very imminent danger of his life. One Richard Rouse, who was acquainted with the Bishop's cook, came into his kitchen, and while the cook was gone to fetch him some drink, made use of that opportunity to throw a great quantity of poison into the gruel which was prepared for the Bishop and his family. He could eat nothing that day,

day, and so escaped; but of seventeen persons who eat of it, one Mr. Bennet Curwin, and an old widow, died, and the rest never perfectly recovered their healths. Upon this occasion, an act was made, which declared poisoning to be high treason, and adjudged the offender to be boiled to death. And that severe punishment was accordingly inflicted upon Rouse in Smithfield; but the act was afterwards repealed. The other danger which the Bishop escaped, proceeded from a cannon bullet; which being shot from the other side of the Thames, pierced through his house at Lambeth Marsh, and came very near his study, where he used to spend the greater part of his time. Upon which, apprehending there was a design against his life, he retired to Rochester.

In 1531, the question of giving King Henry VIII. the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, being debated in convocation, Bishop Fisher, we are told, opposed it with all his might, and in such a manner as to make himself very obnoxious to the Court. However, a motion was at length made, (by Fisher according to some), that these words might be added to the title, *IN SO FAR AS IS LAWFUL BY THE LAW OF CHRIST*. And in this manner it was agreed to by nine Bishops, (of which number, says Burnet, the Bishop of Rochester was one), and fifty-two Abbots and Priors, and the major part of the lower House of Convocation in the province of Canterbury (i).

Soon after Bishop Fisher brought himself into much trouble and vexation, by tampering with, and credulously hearkening to, the visions and impostures of the pretended holy Maid of Kent. This impostor, whose name was Elizabeth Barton, of the parish of Aldington, in Kent, being sick and distempered in her brain, fell into what were called *TRANCES*, (but which are said to have been hysterical fits), and spake many things that made great impressions on some about her, who thought her inspired of GOD. Upon which Richard Master, Minister of the

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parish,

(i) According to the author of the life of Bishop Fisher, published under the name of Dr. Bailey, (who, by the bye, was a bigotted Papist, and therefore not very implicitly to be relied on), King Henry was highly offended when he first heard of the proposal in the House of Convocation, to add the above mentioned words to his title; and said to those whom he had employed to manage the affair in the Convocation for him, 'Mother of God! you have plaid a pretty prank: I thought to have made fools of them; and now you have so ordered the business, that they are likely to make a

'fool of me, as they have done of you already. Go unto them again, and let me have the business passed without any *quantums* or *tantums*;' 'I will have no *quantums* nor no *tantums* in the business, but let it be done.' However, Henry was at length obliged to agree to the addition of the proposed words, *SO FAR AS IS LAWFUL BY THE LAW OF CHRIST*; being at that time, as Burnet observes, glad to have it pass any way.—*Vid.* Bailey's Life of Fisher, Edit. 1739, P. 133, 134, 135. and Burnet's Hist. of Reform. Vol. I. P. 112.

parish, hoping to draw considerable advantages from this, went to Archbishop Warham, and gave him a large account of her speeches; and the Archbishop ordered him to attend her carefully, and bring him a farther report of any new trances which she might afterwards fall into. She had forgot all that she had said in her fits; but the crafty Priest would not let it stop here, but persuaded her, (or at least taught her to pretend), that what she had said was by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He afterwards taught her to counterfeit such trances, and to utter such speeches as she had done before; so that after some practice, she became very ready and expert at it. The affair at length made a considerable noise, and many came to see her; and the Priest, Master, in order to raise the reputation of an image of the Blessed Virgin, that was in a chapel within his parish, by which he would have a prospect of gaining considerable profit, chose for an associate in his imposture one Dr. Bocking, a Canon of Christ Church in Canterbury. Upon which they instructed the maid to say in her counterfeited trances, that the Blessed Virgin had appeared to her, and assured her she would never recover, until she should visit her image in that place of worship. She accordingly went in pilgrimage to the chapel; where, in the midst of a very great concourse of people who were there assembled, she pretended to fall into a trance, poured forth pious ejaculations, declared that GOD had called her to a religious life, and appointed Bocking to be her ghostly father. She afterwards pretended to be recovered of all her distempers by the intercession of the Virgin Mary, took the veil, saw visions, heard heavenly melody, and was said to have the revelation of many things that were to come; so that many people began to consider her as a Prophetess, and, among the rest, Archbishop Warham.

But it appeared that there was a farther design in those who carried on this imposture, than might at first have been suspected. Their intention was to alienate the people's affections from King Henry. The maid pretended, that when the King was last at Calais, whilst he was at mass, an Angel brought away the Sacrament, and gave it to her; being then invisibly present, and that she was presently brought over the sea to her monastery again. She also prophesied, that if the King should proceed in his divorce, and marry another wife, his Royalty would not be of a month's duration, but that he would die the death of a villain.

Bishop Fisher was warmly attached to the interests of Queen Catherine; and when he was informed of these visions and prophecies of the Maid of Kent, her having espoused the cause of the Queen, induced him the more easily to give credit to her. Accordingly the Bishop, together with some others, had frequent meetings with her; and they were weak enough to believe what she said, and to conceal what she spake concerning the
King.

King (†). And some Ecclesiastics concerned in the imposture, published these pretended revelations in their sermons throughout the kingdom; and they communicated them to the Pope's Ambassadors, to whom also they introduced the Maid of Kent. And the affair now beginning to wear a serious aspect, King Henry ordered the maid and her accomplices to be examined in the Star-Chamber, where they confessed all the particulars of the imposture. It appeared in the course of the examination, that a letter, which, it had been pretended, the maid had received from the Virgin Mary in Heaven, and which was in gold letters, was written by Hankerst of Canterbury; and that the door of a Dormitory, said to have been opened by miracle, that the Nun might go into the chapel, and converse with GOD, was really opened for carnal communication between her and her accomplices.

When this imposture was first laid open, Cromwell, then Secretary of State, sent Bishop Fisher's brother to him, with a sharp reproof for his behaviour in this affair; but at the same time exhorting him to write to the King, acknowledge his offence, and desire forgiveness, which he knew the King would grant, in consideration of his age and infirmities. But Bishop Fisher, declining any application to the King, wrote back to Cromwell, that all he did was only to try whether her revelations were true. He confessed, that he had conceived an high opinion of her Holiness, both from common fame, and her entering into a religious life; from the report of her ghostly father, whom he esteemed learned and religious, and of many other learned and virtuous Priests; from the good opinion the late Archbishop Warham had of her, and from what is said in the Prophet Amos, THAT GOD WILL DO NOTHING WITHOUT REVEALING IT TO HIS SERVANTS. That upon these grounds, he was induced to have a good opinion of her; and that to try the

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truth

(†) Some of the Ecclesiastics were emboldened by these visions and revelations of the pretended Prophets, to take very extraordinary liberties with the King. One Peto, preaching before Henry at Greenwich, denounced heavy judgments upon him to his face, and told him, 'That many lying Prophets had deceived him; but he, as a true Micajah, warned him that the dogs should lick his blood as they had done Ahab's.' Henry bore this insult with a moderation very remarkable in a Prince of his impetuous temper. He only appointed Dr. Curwin to preach before him the following Sunday, which he did, and justified the King's proceedings, call-

ing Peto rebel, slanderer, dog, and traitor. But the preacher was interrupted by a Friar, named Elston, who told him, that he was one of the lying Prophets, who sought by adultery to establish the succession to the Throne, and that he would justify all that Peto had said. And the Friar spake many other things with great virulence and vehemence, nor could they silence him, till the King himself commanded him to hold his peace. This Elston, together with Peto, were both ordered to appear before the Privy Council; but they were only reprimanded for their insolence.—*Vid.* Burnet's Hist. Reform, Vol. I. P. 154.

truth about her, he had sometimes spoken with her, and sent his Chaplains to her, but never discovered any falsehood in her. And as to his concealing what she had told him about the King, which was laid to his charge, he thought it needful for him to speak concerning it to the King, since she had said to him, that she had told it to the King herself; and she had named no person who should kill the King, which by being known, might have been prevented. And as in spiritual things every churchman was not bound to denounce judgments against those that could not bear it; so, in temporal things, the case might be the same; and the King (the Bishop said) had on other occasions spoken so sharply to him, that he had reason to think his Majesty would have been offended with him for speaking of it, and would have suspected that he had a hand in it (p).

Cromwell wrote back a long letter, in answer to this of the Bishop's, in which he told him that the reasons he had urged in his own justification were very insufficient for that purpose; and he represented to him, that he had not proceeded as a grave Prelate ought to have done, for he had taken every thing upon trust, and had examined nothing. He assured him, that should he be brought to trial, he would certainly be found guilty; but, notwithstanding, he again pressed him to have recourse to the clemency of the King, who, upon proper submission, would, he said, pardon what was past, and take him into favour. But Bishop Fisher could not be prevailed upon to make any kind of submission.

In 1534, a bill of attainder for high treason was passed against Elizabeth Barton and her accomplices. And Bishop Fisher having made no submission, he, together with five others, was adjudged guilty of misprision of treason, for concealing the maid's speeches that related to the King; and he was condemned to forfeit his goods and chattels to the King, and to be imprisoned during his Majesty's pleasure. The Bishop was, however, released,

(p) In a letter written by Bishop Fisher to the House of Lords, while the bill for attainting Elizabeth Barton and her accomplices was depending, he endeavoured to vindicate his conduct in relation to this affair, in the following manner:

'It may please you to consider (said the Bishop) that I sought not for this woman's coming unto me, nor thought in her any manner of deceit. She was a person that, by many probable and likely conjectures, I then reputed to be right honest, religious, and very good and virtuous. I verily supposed, that such feigning and craft, compassing of any guile or fraud, had

'been far from her; and what default was this in me, so to think, when I had so many probable testimonies of her virtue? 1. The report of the country, which generally called her *THE HOLY MAID*. 2. Her entrance into religion upon certain visions, which was commonly said that she had. 3. For the good religion and learning that was thought to be in her ghostly father (Dr. Bocking), and in other virtuous and well learned Priests, that then testified of her holiness, as it was commonly reported. Finally, my Lord of Canterbury (Warham), that then was both her ordinary, and a man re-
puted

leased, on his paying 300*l.* for his Majesty's use (*1*). But Elizabeth Barton, together with her accomplices, Master, Bocking, Deering, Risby, and Gould, with two Monks, were executed at Tyburn; where the Nun confessed her imposture, laying the blame on her accomplices the Priests, who had imposed upon her ignorance.

During the same session of Parliament in which those concerned in this imposture were attainted, an act was passed, by which King Henry's marriage with Catherine of Arragon was declared void, his marriage with Anne Boleyn was confirmed, and the Crown was entailed upon her issue. It was also adjudged misprision of treason to slander or do any thing to the derogation of the King's last marriage; and all persons whatsoever were enjoined to maintain and keep the contents of this act. And in pursuance of it, on the day of the prorogation of the Parliament, March 30, 1534, an oath was taken by both Houses, whereby they swore "to bear faith, truth, and obedience alone, "to the King's Majesty, and to the heirs of his body, of his "most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife Queen Anne, "begotten and to be begotten. And further, to the heirs of "the said Sovereign Lord, according to the limitation in the statute made for surety of his succession in the Crown of this "Realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other within "this

"puted of high wisdom and learning, told me that she had many "great visions. And of him I "learned greater things than ever I "heard of the Nun herself.—But "here t'will be said, that she told me "such words as were to the peril of "the Prince, and of the Realm.— "The words that she told me, concerning the peril of the King's "Highness, were these, That she had "her revelation from GOD, that if "the King went forth with the purpose that he intended, he should "not be King of England seven "months after; and she told me "also, that she had been with the "King, and shewed unto his Grace "the same revelation.—But whereas "I never gave her any counsel to this "matter, nor knew of any forging or "feigning thereof, I wist in your "great wisdoms, that you will not "think any default in me touching "this point.—It will be said, that "I should have shewed the words "unto the King's Highness. Verily "if I had not undoubtedly thought "that she had shewed the same words "unto his Grace, my duty had been

"so to have done. But when she "herself, which pretended to have "had this revelation from GOD, had "shewed the same, I saw no necessity why that I should renew it "again to his Grace.—And not "only her own saying thus persuaded "me, but her Priores's words confirmed the same, and their servants "also reported to my servants that "she had been with the King. And "yet besides all this, I knew it not "long after by some others, that so it "was indeed."

It may be remarked, that the Bishop in all this never clearly expresses any conviction of the Nun's being an impostor.

(*1*) This, at least, is the account given by R. Hall, (in that life of Fisher published under the name of Bailey, P. 149.) and which hath been mostly followed. But Bishop Burnet says (Hist. Reform. Vol. I. P. 154.) that he does "not find, that the King "proceeded against him upon this act, till by new provocations he "drew a heavier storm of indignation upon himself."

"this Realm, nor foreign authority or Potentate, &c." But, instead of taking this oath, which was directed to be taken by all the King's subjects, Bishop Fisher retired to his house at Rochester.

Our Prelate, however, had not been there above four days, before he received orders from Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Commissioners, authorized under the Great Seal to tender the oath, to appear before them at Lambeth. He appeared accordingly; and the oath being presented to him, he perused it a while, and then desired time to consider of it; to which the Commissioners agreed, allowing him five days for that purpose. And that time being expired, he appeared again before the Commissioners, and told them, "He had perused the oath with as good deliberation as he could: but as they had framed it, he could not (with any safety to his own conscience) subscribe thereto, except they would give him leave to alter it in some particulars; whereby his own conscience might be the better satisfied, the King pleased, and his actions rather justified, and warranted by law." But they all made answer, that "the King would not in any wise permit that the oath should admit of any exceptions or alterations whatsoever." And the Archbishop in particular, we are told, said, "You must answer directly, whether you will or will not subscribe." To which Bishop Fisher replied, "If you will needs have me answer directly, my answer is, that so far as my own conscience cannot be satisfied, I absolutely refuse the oath." And as he persisted in this resolution, he was, in consequence, committed to the Tower. For it was enacted by the act of succession, that whoever should refuse to take the oath, should be adjudged guilty of misprision of treason, and punished accordingly. The Bishop's commitment was on the 26th of April, 1534.

Bishop Fisher's great reputation for learning and piety, occasioned earnest endeavours to be used to bring him to compliance. Some Prelates waited on him for that purpose, as did also the Lord-Chancellor Audley, and others of the Privy-Council; but they could make no alteration in his sentiments, and all their applications and solicitations were without effect. Secretary Cromwell was also with him, to try to persuade and convince him. He advised him to write to the King; but the Bishop told Cromwell, that as he knew the King's jealous temper, he was afraid of writing, for fear his Majesty should take something amiss. Cromwell found, that the thing which stuck most with the Bishop, was, That the King's marriage with Catherine of Arragon was to be reckoned contrary to the law of GOD, on account of the prohibition of the Levitical law. It being part of the act of succession, (the whole of which, with all the effects and contents thereof, he was required to swear to observe, keep, maintain, and defend), that the King's former marriage with

with the Princess Catherine was contrary to the laws of GOD, and void, and of no effect; and that all such marriages were prohibited by the Levitical law, and unlawful, notwithstanding any dispensations whatsoever. Cromwell, however, sent Lee, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, to talk with Fisher upon that point. And Fisher at length declared, that he would "swear to the succession, and never dispute more about the marriage; and he promised allegiance to the King: but his conscience could not be convinced, that the marriage was against the law of GOD."

Sir Thomas More, who had also refused to take the oath in the terms that were prescribed, did also offer to swear to the succession; but these concessions of Fisher and More did not satisfy Henry. Archbishop Cranmer, however, who (says Burnet) "was a moderate and wise man, and foresaw well the ill effects that would follow on contending so much with persons so highly esteemed over the world, and of such a temper, that severity would bend them to nothing, did by an earnest letter to Cromwell, dated the 27th of April, move that what they offered might be accepted; for if they once swore to the succession, it would quiet the kingdom; for they acknowledging it, all other persons would acquiesce and submit to their judgments." But this sage advice (adds the Bishop) was not "accepted."

As to King Henry, he was far from being of the same moderate and reasonable way of thinking with Archbishop Cranmer; the usual impetuosity of his temper broke out upon this occasion; and when he was informed that Bishop Fisher refused absolutely to take the oath in the manner the act prescribed, he swore, (we are told), "Mother of GOD, both More and he should take the oath, or he would know why they should not; and they (Cromwell and the rest of the Counsellors) should make them do it, or he would see better reasons why they could not."

In the Parliament which met the 3d of November, 1534, Bishop Fisher was attainted for refusing the oath required by the act of succession, and his Bishopric was declared void from the 2d of January following. During his confinement, the poor old Bishop was very hardly and unkindly treated, and scarcely allowed common necessaries (m). He continued about a year prisoner

(m) Dr. Lee represented to Secretary Cromwell, that "Bishop Fisher's body could not bear the clothes on his back; that he was nigh going, and that he could not continue, unless the King were merciful to him." But the hardships and distresses to which the poor Prelate was reduced, appear still more evidently

from the following extract of a letter from the Bishop himself to Cromwell:

"Furthermore, I beseech you be good master unto me in my necessity. For I have neither shirt nor sute, nor yet other clothes that are necessary for me to wear, but that be ragged and rent too shamefully: notwithstanding,

prisoner in the Tower, and might have remained there till released by a natural death, which would probably not have been a very long time, he being now seventy-six years of age; but Pope Paul III. by conferring an unseasonable honour upon him, precipitated his ruin. This was the creating of him, on the 21st of May, 1535, a Cardinal, by the title of Cardinal Priest of St. Vitalis.

When King Henry heard of this, he gave strict orders that none should be permitted to bring the Hat into his dominions; and it therefore came no nearer than Calais. The King also sent Cromwell to examine the Bishop about this affair. And after some conference between them, Cromwell asked him, "My Lord of Rochester, what would you say, if the Pope should send you a Cardinal's hat; would you accept of it?" The Bishop replied, "Sir, I know myself to be so far unworthy of any such dignity, that I think of nothing less; but if any such thing should happen, assure yourself I should improve that favour to the best advantage that I could, in assisting the Holy Catholic Church of CHRIST, and in that respect I would receive it upon my knees." When Cromwell carried this answer to the King, Henry said in a great passion, "Yea, is he yet so lusty? Well, let the Pope send him a Hat when he will; Mother of GOD, he shall wear it on his shoulders then; for I will leave him never a head to set it on."

From this time Bishop Fisher's ruin was determined. But nothing which had been hitherto proved against him, was sufficient to take away his life. Ungenerous arts, therefore, were made use

notwithstanding, I might easily suffer that, if that would keep my body warm. But my diet also, GOD knoweth how slender it is at many times. And now, in my age, my stomach may not away but with a few kind of meats: which if I want, I decay forthwith, and fall into crases and diseases of my body, and cannot keep myself in health. And, as our Lord knoweth, I have nothing left unto me, for to provide any better, but as my brother of his own purse layeth out for me, to his great hindrance. Wherefore, good Master Secretary, if I beseech you, to have some pity upon me, and let me have such things as are necessary for me, in mine age, and especially for my health. And also that it may please you, by your high wisdom, to move the King's Highness to take me unto his gra-

cious favour again, and to restore me to my liberty, out of this cold and painful imprisonment. Whereby ye shall bind me to be your poor bedesman for ever unto Almighty GOD: who ever have you in his protection and custody. Other twain things I must desire of you. The one is, it may please you, that I may take some Priest with me in the Tower, by the assignment of Master Lieutenant, to hear my confession against this holy time. That other is, that I may borrow some books, to say my devotions more effectually these holy days, for the comfort of my soul. This I beseech you to grant me of your charity. And thus our Lord GOD send you a merry Christmas, and a comfortable, to your heart's desire. At the Tower, the 22d day of December, your poor bedesman,

JOHN FISHER.

use of for that purpose. Rich, the Solicitor-General, went to him, and in a fawning and treacherous manner, under pretence of consulting him (as from the King) about a case of Conscience, unwarily drew him into a discourse about the Supremacy. Concerning which, the Bishop inconsiderately uttered these words: "As to the business of Supremacy, I must needs tell his Majesty, as I have often told him heretofore, and would so tell him, if I were to die this present hour, that it is utterly unlawful; and therefore I would not wish his Majesty to take any such power or title upon him, as he loves his own soul, and the good of his posterity."

The Bishop being thus caught in the snare that was laid for him, a special commission was drawn up for trying him. As he had been before attainted of misprision of treason, he was refused the privilege of a trial by his Peers. And when he was brought to his trial, he was indicted only by the title of John Fisher, late Bishop of Rochester. The commission of Oyer and Terminer, which was appointed for his trial, was directed to the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Cumberland and Wiltshire, Secretary Cromwell, and eight of the Judges; and before them he was tried by a Jury, consisting of twelve freeholders of the county of Middlesex. The charge against him was, "That in the twenty-seventh year of King Henry's reign, he the said John Fisher, late Bishop of Rochester, had, in the Tower of London, falsely, maliciously, and traiterously spoken and divulged, against his due allegiance, before several of the King's true subjects, the following words in English, That the King our Sovereign Lord is not Supreme Head, on earth, of the Church of England." He was tried upon the statute passed in the 26th year of Henry VIII. by which it was made high treason maliciously to wish or desire by words or writing, or to imagine, invent, or attempt any bodily harm to be done to the King, the Queen, or their heirs apparent; or to deprive any of them of the DIGNITY, STYLE, OR NAME OF THEIR ROYAL ESTATES.

The indictment was found against him on the 11th of June, 1535: he was then so ill, that he could not be brought to his trial; but in the mean time all his books and other effects were seized. And on the 17th, being somewhat recovered, he was brought to the King's Bench Bar at Westminster. He rode part of the way on horseback, in a black cloth gown; but his weakness would not permit him to go all the way on horseback, and therefore he was carried the remainder of the way by water.

After a short trial, the Bishop was found by his Jury guilty of high treason; chiefly upon the evidence of the Solicitor-General, Rich. He objected very much against Rich's evidence; and thought it (as indeed he very justly might) exceedingly hard and cruel. "I cannot but marvel (said the Bishop to Rich) to hear you come in and bear witness against me of

“ these words, knowing in what secret manner you came to me.” And addressing himself to his Judges, he related to them all the particulars of Rich’s coming, and went on thus : “ He told me (said the Bishop) that the King, for the better satisfaction of his own conscience, had sent unto me in this secret manner, to know my full opinion in the matter [of the Supremacy], for the great affiance he had in me more than any other.—And he told me, that the King willed him to assure me, on his honour, and on the word of a King, that whatever I should say unto him, by this his secret messenger, I should abide no danger nor peril for it, neither that any advantage should be taken against me for the same.—Now, therefore, my Lords, seeing it pleased the King’s Majesty to send to me thus secretly, under the pretence of plain and true meaning, to know my poor advice and opinion in these his weighty and great affairs, which I most gladly was, and ever will be, willing to send him ; methinks, it is very hard injustice to hear the messenger’s accusation, and to allow the same as a sufficient testimony against me in case of treason.” The King’s behaviour in this affair, as well as Rich’s, (if the latter was really sent by Henry), was exceedingly mean, treacherous, unjust, and wicked. This Rich, though he was afterwards created a Lord, appears to have been a most infamous person. He behaved in much the same base manner to Sir Thomas More.

Bishop Fisher made also the following observation, (addressing himself to his Judges), with regard to the terms of the statute on which he was indicted : “ I pray you, my Lords, consider, (said he), that by all equity, justice, worldly honesty, and courteous dealing, I cannot (as the case standeth) be directly charged with TREASON, though I had spoken the words in deed, the same being not spoken MALICIOUSLY, but in the way of advice and counsel, when it was requested of me by the King himself ; and that favour the very words of the statute do give me, being made only against such as shall MALICIOUSLY gainsay the King’s Supremacy, and none other : wherefore, although by rigour of law you may take occasion thus to condemn me, yet I hope you cannot find law, except you add rigour to that law, to cast me down, which herein I hope I have not deserved.”

However, the Jury having found him guilty, he was condemned to suffer death as a traitor ; but his sentence was, by a warrant from the King, changed to decapitation. After his trial, he was conveyed back to the Tower ; and when he was arrived there, he turned round to the officers and persons who had attended and guarded him thither, and said to them with great cheerfulness, “ My masters, I thank you all for the great labour and pains ye have taken with me this day. I am not able to give you any thing in recompence, for I have nothing left ;

“ left ; and therefore, I pray you, accept in good part my
“ hearty thanks.”

While he remained in the Tower, after his condemnation, he applied himself very fervently to his devotions. But though he was in daily expectation of death, he discovered no uneasy apprehensions on that account, but behaved with great chearfulness and fortitude. On the 22d of June, he was acquainted by the Lieutenant of the Tower, at five o'clock in the morning, that it was the King's pleasure that he should be executed that day. He received the news with great chearfulness, thanked the Lieutenant for his information, and slept soundly two hours after it. And when he got up, he dressed himself in a much finer and neater manner than usual ; at which his man expressed much wonder, seeing his Lordship knew well enough that he must put all off again within two hours, and lose it. “ What of that ?” said the Bishop, “ dost thou not mark, that this is our marriage-day, and that it behoves us therefore to use more cleanliness for solemnity of the marriage sake ?”

About nine o'clock the Lieutenant came to him again, and finding him almost ready, told him that he was now come for him. “ I will wait upon you straight, (said he), as fast as this “ thin body of mine will give me leave.” He then desired his man to reach him his furred tippet to put about his neck ; and taking a New Testament in his hand, went along with the Lieutenant. But he was so extremely weak, that he was scarcely able to go down stairs ; and therefore, at the bottom of them, he was taken up in a chair by two of the Lieutenant's men, and carried to the Tower-gate. And while they were waiting to know whether the Sheriffs were in readiness to receive him, he rose out of his chair, and leaning himself against the wall, he opened his New Testament, and prayed (we are told) to this purpose : That as that book had been his companion and chief comfort in his imprisonment, so then some place might turn up to him that might comfort him in his passage. Having said this, he opened the book, and read these words in St. John's Gospel, THIS IS LIFE ETERNAL, TO KNOW THEE THE ONLY TRUE GOD, AND JESUS CHRIST WHOM THOU HAST SENT. Upon which he shut the book with much satisfaction ; and all the way, it is said, was employed in repeating and meditating on these words. When he came to the scaffold, he pronounced the *Te Deum* ; and after some other devotions, the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body.——Such was the tragical end (*) of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who, at the

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time

(*) We are told in the life of ‘ death, they have heard him say, Fisher published by Bailey, (P. 237, ‘ that he should not die in his bed.’ Edit. 1739.) that ‘ divers of his chap- This, from the character of the ‘ lains and household servants have writer, as well as the nature of the ‘ reported, that, long before his story, deserves little attention ; but we

time of his death, was aged seventy-six years, nine months, and some days over. His body was buried in the church-yard of Allhallows Barking, and his head set up the next day on London-bridge.

Bishop Fisher was, as to his person, a very tall man, being six feet in height; and he was also comely, upright, well formed, strong and robust; but, in the decline of life, he grew extremely emaciated. His complexion was dark, his forehead broad, and his features regular; and his countenance grave and venerable. Erasmus represents him as a man of the greatest integrity and learning, of incredible sweetness of temper, and greatness of soul. He had a great zeal to promote literature in others, and to excel in it himself. He applied himself to the study of the Greek language when he was of a very advanced age; and greatly admired and encouraged, and was a generous friend to Erasmus. When he was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and head of Queen's College, he first invited Erasmus down thither, and accommodated him in his own lodgings at his College; and Erasmus was promoted by his means to the Lady Margaret's Professorship in divinity, and afterwards to the Greek Professor's chair (e). Bishop Burnet says

we have taken notice of it, because we have met with a story to the same purpose in Mr. Baker's manuscript collections in the British Museum, which some of our readers may perhaps not be displeased to see, whatever degree of credit they may think it entitled to.

It is to the following purpose. Bishop Fisher, three or four years before his death, at the time of Christmas, having caused such preparations to be made of feasting and other entertainments, (worshipful fare and honest pastimes, says our author), as were customary at that season, for his relations and friends who came then to visit him, he commanded his officers and servants to entertain them in a liberal and plentiful manner. And he came himself also among his visitors, and gave them a very hearty welcome. After which, leaving his guests to their entertainment, he went himself away into his study, to his prayers and meditations; which one of his chief officers and trusty servants observing, came to him, and said, "My Lord, I pray you leave your study for the merry time of Christmas, while your friends be here, and come and keep them company;

otherwise they will think themselves not welcome to you." "Why, (said the Bishop) have they not all such things as were prepared for them?" "Yes, (answered the servant) they have; but what then? your Lordship's presence will more cheer your friends, than all your meat and your pastimes." "Well, (replied the Bishop) I pray you be content, and let me alone in my study; for my friends, I dare say, will be content that in this I should follow my own mind in my own house; and therefore pray them, in my name, to be as merry without me, as though I were with them. For as for me, I have other things to do, than to entertain my guests, or to be present at your worldly pastimes; for I tell you, in secret, I know that I shall not die in my bed. Wherefore it becometh me to think continually upon the dreadful hour of my account." *Ms. Baker's Collections, Vol. xx. Fol. 26, 27. Harleian MSS. No. 7047.*

(e) "Dr. John Fisher, reputed the best preacher, and the deepest Divine in those times, head of Queen's College in Cambridge, Chancellor of that University, Chaplain at Court,

says of Fisher, that " he was a learned and devout man, but " much addicted to the superstitions in which he had been " bred up." His bigotted attachment to the Church of Rome was, indeed, sufficiently apparent; and he was a rigorous observer of the austerities of Monkish discipline (p).

Bishop Fisher was exceedingly liberal to the poor. He would often visit his poor neighbours when they were sick, and furnish them with meat drink, and money. He was affable and courteous to all who came near him; and very compassionate to those who were in any calamity or distress. He would always tell his brother, Robert Fisher, who being unmarried, lived with him, and was steward of his house, that he would have his revenues fully spent every year, so that he were not brought in debt. And accordingly the whole revenues of his Bishopric, which amounted annually to about five hundred marks, were employed in acts of charity and benevolence, excepting so much as went to the necessary provision of his house, which was exceedingly frugal. It was his constant custom to stand at a window, from which he could see the poor people served at his gate, after he had himself dined. He was very temperate and regular in his diet, and never sat a full hour at dinner. He determined the quantity of what he either eat or drank by weight; and kept a precise hour of

Court, and Bishop of Rochester, was very sensible of this imperfection [THE WANT OF GREEK]; which made him desirous to learn Greek in his declining years; and for that purpose he wrote to Erasmus, to persuade William Latimer, an Englishman, (who from his travels had brought home that language in perfection), to be his instructor in it. Erasmus accordingly wrote to Latimer, and importuned him to it. But he declined undertaking to teach the Bishop at those years; alledging the long time it would take to make any proficiency in that tongue, from the examples of the greatest masters of it then in England, Grocyn, Linacre, Tonstall, Pace, and More; and to excuse himself, advised that the Bishop should send for a master out of Italy.—Bishop Fisher's want of Greek made him the greater patron and promoter of it in Cambridge; and his being Chancellor of that University, made it more eminent than Oxford in this respect. Knowing, therefore, the abilities of Erasmus this way, he invited him thither, and supported him in professing that language, which he himself (at last) had

made himself master of."—Knight's Life of Dean Colet, P. 15, 16.

(p) We are told, that when persons were sent down to Rochester, by order of the Court, to seize the Bishop's effects, among other things they found, in a private place in his oratory, a wooden chest, strongly bound about with hoops of iron, and double locked. The privacy of the place, and the very careful and secure manner in which the chest was fastened, made them immediately conclude that it must contain some considerable treasure. In order, therefore, that there might be no indirect dealing in the affair, and that no part of the supposed treasure might be embezzled, but that the whole contents of the chest might be faithfully reserved for the King's use, witnesses were formally called to be present at the opening of it. But they were exceedingly disappointed, when upon lifting up the lid of this valuable chest, they found the whole contents of it to be a hair shirt, and two or three whips, with which the Bishop used to discipline himself.—*Vid.* Bailey's Life of Fisher, P. 203.

of eating, it being said that he was inclined to be consumptive. And, therefore, when he was upon his journey from Rochester to London, in pursuance of a citation from the Court, before his commitment to the Tower, his usual time of dining being come, he eat his dinner upon the top of Shooter's-hill, his servants standing round about him.

Bishop Fisher was a very diligent, able, and eloquent preacher. He daily studied for a long time, and some part of the night. He very much practised fasting; and passed several hours of the day, and part of the night, in meditation. And many years before his death he lay not on a feather-bed, but on a hard mattress; and not in any linen sheets, but only in woollen blankets. He had, it is said, the best library in England; two long galleries full of books, which were sorted in stalls, and a register of the names of every book at the end of every stall (*q*).

Bishop Fisher published the following pieces:

I. A Sermon on Psalm 116. at the funeral of King Henry the VIIIth.

II. His opinion of King Henry the VIIIth's marriage, in a letter to T. Wolsey. Printed in the collection of records, at the end of Collier's ecclesiastical history.

III. A funeral sermon at the moneth minde of Margaret, Countess of Richmond (*r*). Printed by Wynkin de Worde; and re-published in 1708, by Thomas Baker, B. D. with a learned preface.

IV. A

(*q*) Most of the above particulars are collected from "Certain brief notes appertaining to Bishop Fisher;" taken out of Sir Thomas More's Life, written by Mr. Justice Rastall, in the xxth Volume of Mr. Baker's Collections, as quoted before.—*Vid.* Harleian MSS. No. 7047, in the Brit. Museum.

(*r*) *Vid.* a copy of this in Mr. Baker's Collections, Vol. xix. in the Brit. Museum, (Harl. MSS. No. 7046), under the following title, "A mornyng Remembrance had at the moneth minde of the noble Prynces Margarete, Countesse of Rychmonde and Darbye, moder unto Kynge Henry the VII. and Grandame to our Soverayne Lorde that nowe is, upon whose soule Almighty GOD have mercy, &c."—From what Bishop Fisher here says of this pious Lady, (whose life we have already given), we have, with some alteration of the

language, selected a few more particulars concerning her.

She was bounteous and liberal to every person of her knowledge or acquaintance. Covetousness was particularly her aversion; and she was much grieved with any appearances of avarice in any persons, but especially in those with whom she was any way connected. She was very easy of access, and remarkably courteous and gentle to all who came near her; but particularly kind and affectionate to those of her own household. She was utterly incapable of being unkind to any one; nor was she ever forgetful of any services which were rendered to her. She was far from being inclined to revenge any injuries which she might receive; but was, on the contrary, very ready to forget and forgive them, on the least desire or motion of the offending party. She was very com-

passionate

IV. A Commentary on the seven penitential Psalms. Written at the desire of the Countess of Richmond. Printed at London in 1509, in 4to; and in 1555, in 8vo.

V. A Sermon on the passion of our Saviour.

VI. A Sermon concerning the Righteousness of the Pharisees and Christians.

VII. The method of arriving to the highest perfection in religion. These four last were translated into Latin by John Fenne.

VIII. A Sermon preached at London, on the day in which the writings of M. Luther were publicly burnt; on John xv. 26. Cambridge, 1521, translated into Latin by R. Pace.

IX. ASSERTIONUM MARTINI LUTHERI CONFUTATIO. *That is*, A confutation of Martin Luther's Assertions, in 41 articles.

X. DEFENSIO ASSERTIONIS HENR. VIII. DE 7 SACRAMENTIS CONTRA LUTHERI CAPTIVATEM BABYLONICAM. *That is*, A defence of King Henry the Eighth's book against Luther's, intitled, The Captivity of Babylon.

XI. EPISTOLA RESPONSORIA, EPISTOLÆ LUTHERI. *That is*, A letter in answer to Luther's.

XII. SACERDOTII DEFENSIO CONTRA LUTHERUM. A Defence of the Priesthood against Luther.

XIII. PRO DAMNATIONE LUTHERI. *That is*, For the condemnation of Luther.

XIV. DE VERITATE CORPORIS ET SANGUINIS CHRISTI IN EUCHARISTIA, ADVERSUS JOHANNEM OECOLAMPADIUM. Colon. 1527. 4to. *That is*, Of the reality of the body and blood of CHRIST in the Eucharist, against Oecolampadius. In this book he answers Oecolampadius, paragraph by paragraph, and gives him many hard names. It is, however, esteemed but a very indifferent performance.

XV. DE UNICA MAGDALENA CONTRA CLICHTOVEUM ET JAC. FABRUM STAPULENSEM. *That is*, That there was only one Magdalen, against Clichtoveus, &c.

XVI. S. PETRUM

passionate to those who were in any kind of distress; and very desirous of promoting the glory of her Creator, and extremely solicitous to avoid every thing of an evil or vicious tendency.

She possessed a degree of understanding greatly superior to the generality of her sex. She had a quick apprehension, a ready wit, and a very retentive memory; and was very studious. She was extremely temperate in her diet, and frequently practised fasting, and other austeri-

ties. Whenever any of the twelve poor persons whom she always kept in her house, and furnished with all kind of necessaries, were sick, she constantly visited them, comforted them, and ministered unto them with her own hands. And when any of them were near death, she would attend, and be present to see them depart, and to learn to die; and when they were dead, she would attend them to the grave.—See as above, P. 194, 196.

XVI. S. PETRUM ROMÆ FUISSE. *That is, That St. Péter was at Rome.* This was written against Ulric Velenus.

XVII. Several other small tracts, *viz.* on the Benefit of Prayer. The necessity of Prayer. Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. Psalms, and Prayers. A letter on Christian charity, to Herman Leclatius, Dean of Utrecht. A treatise on Purgatory, &c.

Most of the forementioned pieces, which were printed separately in England, were collected and printed together in one Volume, Folio, at Wurtzburg, in 1595.

We are told, that there is also in the Norfolk library of MSS. belonging to the Royal Society, an answer of Bishop Fisher's to a book printed at London in 1530, concerning King Henry's marriage with Queen Catherine. N^o. 151.



The Life of Dr. JOHN COLET, Dean of St. Paul's.

JOHAN COLET was the eldest son of Sir Henry Colet, Knight, (who was twice Lord-Mayor of London), by Christian his wife, a gentlewoman of a good family. He was born in the parish of St. Anthonine's, now called St. Antholin's, within the city of London, in the year 1466. "At which time (says Dr. Knight) it was reputed a sort of Nobility to be born and bred in that great city, and more was expected from such than from others." He is supposed to have received his first education at St. Anthony's school, then the most eminent in London. In 1483, he was sent to the University of Oxford; and it hath been conjectured, that he studied in Magdalen College, because there were, at that time, one or more of his surname there. In this feat of learning he spent seven years in the study of logic and philosophy, and then took his degrees in arts. He was well acquainted with the writings of Cicero, which he studied with great care and attention. He also read with great diligence the works of Plato and Plotinus; and not only read, but compared them, making the one serve as a commentary to the other. But he was forced to read them only in their Latin translations; for he had not at school any opportunity of learning the Greek tongue, it not being then taught in any of our grammar schools. And even in the two Universities it was scarcely understood at all, nor was it thought that there was any great need of it by the generality of scholars (s). Besides these studies, Colet applied himself to the mathematics, in which he made a very considerable progress. And he also endeavoured to acquire a perfect knowledge of the history and constitution of his country, both in Church and State; and we are told, that there was no one book relating to these studies, which he had not diligently turned over.

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Colet

(s) It would cast a greater glory on the present state of learning in our two Universities, to look back upon the clouds of ignorance which hung over them in the times immediately preceding the reformation. As for Oxford, its own *History* and *Aquities* sufficiently confess, that nothing was known there but Latin, and that in the most depraved style of the Schoolmen. Cornelius Vitalius, an Italian, was the first who taught

Colet was from his earliest years inclined to be devout and religious. It is not improbable that for this he might be much indebted to the instructions and example of his mother, who was a woman of great worth, and of exemplary piety. For it is certain, that those impressions which we receive in our childhood, are generally lasting ; and which is a sufficient evidence of the great advantage of early inculcating in the minds of youth, sentiments of piety and virtue. A truth which, however obvious, and however generally acknowledged, is by no means attended to, with that attention which its importance deserves. When Colet had taken his degrees in arts at Oxford, he was of an age, and at liberty, to chuse his profession, or to take up the life of a gentleman ; for he had an estate very sufficient to support him, without having recourse to any lucrative profession. His mother bore to his father, Sir Henry, twenty-two children, eleven sons and eleven daughters ; but they all dying young, except the eldest, our John Colet, he was, within a few years, the only surviving comfort to his parents ; and, of course, their sole heir. And he had, by means of the credit and influence of his father, which was very considerable, a good interest at Court, if he had been disposed for any office or employment there ; to which also was added, the recommendation of a tall and comely person. But notwithstanding these advantages of birth and fortune, the early sentiments of piety which Colet had imbibed, determined him, in the bloom of life, to renounce every prospect of a temporal kind, and to devote himself to the service of GOD, of virtue, and of religion.

In pursuance of this resolution, he applied himself diligently to the study of divinity. He had declared so early his inclination for the church, that before he had taken his degrees in arts, indeed when he was only of two years standing in the University, but nineteen years of age, and only in the order of an Acolyte, he was, on the 6th of August, 1485, instituted to the Rectory of Denington in Suffolk, to which he was presented by
Sir

taught Greek in that University ; and from him the famous Grocyn learned the first elements thereof.

" In Cambridge, Erasmus was the first who taught the Greek grammar. And so very low was the state of learning in that University, that (as he tells a friend) about the year 1485, the beginning of Henry the VIIth's reign, there was nothing taught in that public seminary besides Alexander's Parva Logica, (as they called them), the old axioms of Aristotle, and the Questions of John Scotus, till in process of time good letters were brought in, and some knowledge of the Mathematics ; as

also Aristotle in a new dress, and some skill in the Greek tongue ; and, by degrees, a multitude of authors, whose names before had not been heard of.

" It is certain that even Erasmus himself did little understand Greek when he came first into England, in 1497, (13 Hen. VII.) and that our countryman Linacre taught it him, being just returned from Italy with great skill in that language : which Linacre and William Grocyn were the two only tutors that were able to teach it."—Knight's Life of Colet, P. 17, 18.

Sir William Knevit, Knight, and his Lady; and this living he kept till his dying day (1). He was also presented by his father, Sir Henry, to the Rectory of Thyrning in Huntingdonshire, to which he was instituted on the 2d of October, 1490; but he resigned it before the latter end of the year 1493.

Colet, though he had lain in a good share of valuable learning in his own country, was yet desirous of making a further progress in science and literature; and for that purpose he left Oxford about this time, and set out upon his travels into foreign countries, particularly France and Italy. He, as well as several other learned Englishmen, were the more induced to take this course, on account of the low state of learning in England at this period; and the great opportunity which they had of improvement, particularly in the Greek language and literature, in Italy; where many learned Greeks, as we have before observed, were obliged to take shelter, after the taking of Constantinople. While Colet was abroad, he spent part of his time at Paris, and was very agreeably entertained and instructed by the conversation of some learned men whom he met with there; particularly Robert Gaguinus, the historian, who had been Ambassador from the French King to Henry VII. And it was this learned person who excited in Colet an earnest desire of being acquainted with Erasmus; he having shewn him a specimen of that great man's parts and abilities, in a letter sent to him upon his publishing the history of France. Here also he became acquainted with the celebrated Budæus, and with Deloigne, who recommended him to the friendship of Erasmus, and on many occasions spake honourably of him.

In Italy, Colet contracted an intimacy with several learned foreigners, as well as with some of his own countrymen, particularly Grocyn and Linacre. He seems to have continued some months at Rome; where, on account of frequent Embassies from England, there was always an English Court. It was here that William Lilly first fell under his notice; who having learned the Greek at Rhodes, was now improving himself in the Latin tongue at Rome, under John Sulpitius and Pomponius Sabinus. He also now cultivated an acquaintance with William Latimer,

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who

(1) " This practice of taking livings, while a novice, has generally (though very irregular and indecent) prevailed in the Church of Rome; and was one of those many abuses which have been since removed by the blessed Reformation. But if Colet did enter upon a cure of souls, before he could sufficiently consider the weighty charge belonging to it;

yet by his care when he came to a more mature age, he atoned for it. And we may see by his excellent sermon to the Clergy in Convocation, that this matter had great weight upon his mind, as well as every thing that tended towards bringing on a Reformation in the Church.--Knight's Life of Colet, P. 21.

who about this time was settled at Padua, with a view of advancing himself in the knowledge of the Greek tongue (s).

Colet, in the course of his studies, and to qualify himself for the profession of divinity, read the writings of the Fathers; and took particular pleasure in the works of Dionysius, Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Jerom; but he had the least relish for that most ORTHODOX Father, St. Augustine. A strong indication, that Colet had in him the seeds of HERESY. "He sometimes read (says Dr. Knight) Scotus and Thomas, and such like trash of the Schoolmen, rather in compliance with the fashion, than for any true relish he found in them. He was also very industrious in consulting the best tracts in the "Civil and Canon Law." And before he left England, he had read all the English poets which were then extant, with a view of refining and polishing his language, in order thereby to render himself a more eloquent preacher.

During the time of his travels, Colet was presented to the Prebend of Botevant, in the cathedral church of York, into which he was installed by proxy on the 5th of March, 1494. He was also made Canon of St. Martin's Le Grand, London, and Prebendary of Good Easter in the same church. Upon his return into his own country, which appears to have been in 1497, he rested a few months with his father and mother at London, and Stepney. "And he had possibly now (says Dr. Knight) "a greater temptation to appear at Court, that he might shew "the accomplishments he had brought home with him, to the "world. Besides which, he was endued with some natural propensities, that seemed fitter for a public life at large, than for "the confinement of a College, or a gown. For he had naturally a spirit exceeding high, and impatient of the least injury "and affront. He was also by the same bent of nature too
" much

(s) The custom of travelling abroad at this period for improvement in Greek and Roman learning, though it was of the utmost service in promoting literature in this kingdom, had, however, one bad effect. It occasioned the study of our own History and Antiquities to be very much neglected. "An English Antiquary (says Dr. Knight) may be apt to observe, that at this time of the great Instauration of Learning, our students and travellers were so intent upon attaining the Greek and Latin tongues, and so inquisitive after the purest writers in them, that they had no leisure to search after our own historians, and the national antiquities of Britain: and indeed they had no appetite to them. They thought (as some since with less rea-

son think) that they were the trash of a barbarous age, and would only serve to stuff a good memory, and corrupt a good style. And this made our young gentlemen confine their travels to France and Italy; when it had been more happy, if some of them had taken a view of Germany, and the more northern parts; where, as also in Sweden and Denmark, they had noble monuments of antiquity. Erasmus in his time observed, that in the Colleges and Monasteries amongst the Germans, French, and English, there lay dormant many ancient books, which they were not willing to communicate, and which in a short time would be eaten up with moths and dust, or at least be stolen and lost."—Life of Colet, P. 25.

"much addicted to love, and luxury, and sleep; and mightily disposed to an air of freedom and jocoseness; and had a tincture of avarice in him."

Colet, however, gave not the least indulgence to any vicious inclinations or propensities. He checked them on their first appearance; he avoided opportunities of temptation; and restrained any irregular appetites or passions within the bounds prescribed by reason, religion, and philosophy. His disposition to love, to sleep, to luxury, he restrained by the strictest sobriety and temperance; by a constant abstinence from suppers; by a close and assiduous application to his studies; and by serious, instructive, and religious conversation (*w*). But yet when opportunities offered themselves of jesting with facetious persons, of talking familiarly with the female sex, or of appearing at great and elegant feasts and entertainments, his natural dispositions to gaiety, to mirth, and gallantry, would sometimes, as it were inadvertently, break forth, and shew themselves. For which reason he very much forbore cultivating much acquaintance with laymen, and particularly avoided public entertainments (*x*). But if at any time necessity obliged him to attend at any places of this kind, he picked out some learned friend or acquaintance, and conversed with him in Latin; to avoid the loose, trifling, or profane discourse of the table. And in the mean time he would eat only of one dish, and drink but one or two draughts of beer, abstaining commonly from wine; though he was very fond of it, if good, but notwithstanding drank it in the most sparing manner: for as he was always jealous of himself, he was, therefore, constantly upon his guard.

On

(*w*) "By his Philosophy, his Divinity, his Watchings, and Fasting, and Devotions, he preserved every step of his whole life from the pollutions of the world; and (as far as Erasmus could possibly gather from their familiar discourses) he was perfectly chaste, and died in virgin purity."—Knight, P. 27.

(*x*) If Colet had lived in the present age, he would, perhaps, have found still more reason to have avoided public entertainments. How common is it, in places of festivity and mirth, in the assemblies of the gay and joyous, as they call themselves, (of the male sex) to hear obscene toasts, obscene songs, and other things of that kind, equally stupid and indecent! in which no man can join with innocence, and which must be exceedingly disagreeable to every man who has any sense of decency

and decorum, and who is in the least disposed to regulate his life agreeably to the dictates of reason, virtue, and religion. But if any man testifies any sort of disapprobation of these things, or expresses the least reluctance at joining in them, he becomes the butt of the company. He is an affected hypocritical fellow, a senseless, lifeless animal, and a fellow without a soul. As for the gentlemen who are the foremost to promote these indecencies in public companies, they are always jolly fellows, men of infinite wit and humour, and *choice spirits*! they have a number of good qualities; they are only destitute of any sense of shame, of any conception of the difference between right and wrong, of any sense of virtue or decorum, and of any degree of wisdom and understanding.

On the 17th of December, 1497, Colet was ordained Deacon, and Priest a short time after. And having continued at London and Stepney a sufficient time to shew his regard and respect for his friends, he retired to Oxford, in order to prosecute his studies with the more advantage. In this situation, however, he was neither inactive, nor unuseful. He read, without any reward, public lectures in the University, by way of exposition on the Epistles of St. Paul. And though he had not taken any degree in divinity, yet there was not, we are told, a Doctor in divinity or law, nor Abbot, or any other dignitary in the church, but came gladly to hear him, and brought their books along with them. "Whether this (says Dr. Knight) was owing to the fame and authority of Mr. Colet, or to the ingenuity of the hearers, who, in more honourable degrees and years, were not ashamed to learn from a younger and inferior person, I will not say. But though the novelty of these exercises might at first gather an audience, yet nothing could keep it up but the abilities of the performer (y)."

Colet about this time enjoyed a happiness of which he had long been extremely desirous. This was the conversation, and in a short time the friendship, of Erasmus. This great man had for a short time been tutor, at Paris, to several of the young English Nobility and Gentry; particularly to William, Lord Montjoy. This Nobleman, who was a lover of learning, and a patron of learned men, was very fond of the company of Erasmus, and accordingly prevailed upon him to come over into England, about the latter end of the year 1497 (z). He arrived at Dover; from whence he proceeded to London, but seems not to have made any very considerable stay there, but hastened down to Oxford, being recommended thither by the Prior and Canons of St. Genovesé at Paris, to Father Richard Charnock,

(y) "About this time it was almost come to a custom for men of distinguished parts and learning in that University, to set up voluntary lectures, by way of exposition and comment on some celebrated writer: to which the students would repair more or less, according to the opinion they had of the men, and their performances. Amongst others, we are certain Mr. Thomas More did read upon St. Austin's book *de Civitate Dei*, while a very young man, to a very great auditory."

"This exercise was also set on foot at Cambridge. We are told by a learned author, that Dr. Warner, afterwards Rector of Winterton in Norfolk, and who assisted Bilney at the stake, read there publicly.

George Stafford read also a lecture in the same place upon St. Paul's epistle to the Romans; being probably induced thereto by the example more especially of Dr. Colet at Oxford, and afterwards at his own cathedral."—Knight, P. 30, 31.

(z) It is said that Lord Montjoy was never easy while Erasmus was in England, but when he was in his company. Even after he was married, he left his family, and went to Oxford, purely to proceed in his studies under the direction of Erasmus. He also gave him the liberty of his house in London, when he was absent; but a surly steward, whom Erasmus, in a letter to Colet, calls Cerberus, prevented his using that privilege often.

Charnock, Prior of the Regulars of the Order of St. Austin, in the College of St. Mary the Virgin, where he was received and accommodated with diet and lodging, in a very courteous and hospitable manner.

After Erasmus had been a short time with Father Charnock, the latter gave this character of him to Colet: "That he was, " in his opinion, a very excellent person, and of singular worth " and goodness." And Colet could not now any longer restrain his desire of cultivating an acquaintance with him. He, therefore, wrote to Erasmus, from his own chamber, a very elegant and polite epistle; in which he told him, That his friend Brome had heartily recommended him by letter, but that he stood before highly recommended to him, as well by the fame of his reputation abroad, as by the testimony of his writings. That, while he was at Paris, he well remembers the name of Erasmus was often mentioned with honour by the learned; and that he had there particularly read over an epistle of his to Gaguinus, which seemed to him to be the production of a most learned and masterly writer. But still the best recommendation of him was, that the venerable Prior, with whom he now sojourned, had yesterday told him, That his new guest, in his opinion, was a very excellent person, and endued with singular virtues. "For this " reason, (says he), my Erasmus, as far as learning and extensive " knowledge, and sincere goodness, can make impression upon " one, who rather wishes for those excellent endowments, than " dare pretend to them; so far, in right of those virtues and " accomplishments, you are and ever must be always most acceptable to me. As soon as I can see you, I shall, in my own " person, do for myself what others have done for you in your " absence, commend myself to you; though with a better " grace, and with more propriety, than others have commended " you to me. For, in truth, the Less ought to be commended " to the Greater, and the Ignorant to the more Learned. But " if there be any thing, in which so inconsiderable a person as I " am, can render you any useful or acceptable service, I shall " most willingly and gladly do it. I rejoice at, and congratulate you on, your arrival in this island; and wish that our " country may be as pleasant and agreeable to you, as I know " you, by your great learning, must needs be useful to our country. I am, Sir, and ever shall be, most devoted to one, whom " I esteem to be the most learned, as well as the best of men. " Farewell. From my chamber in Oxford."

To this Erasmus immediately returned an answer, equally polite and obliging. That could he find any thing in himself worthy of praise, he should be proud of being commended by so worthy and excellent a person; whose judgment and good opinion he valued so highly, that he should prefer his silent esteem alone to all the applauses of a theatre at Rome. But, notwithstanding, the praises which he had received from such a person,

person, were so far from raising in him an high conceit of himself, that he was rather mortified by them ; for they only put him in mind of what he ought to be. That, for his part, he best knew his own failings ; and, therefore, would presume to give a character of himself. " You have in me (says he) a
 " man of little or no fortune, who is a stranger to ambition,
 " but very susceptible of love and friendship. One who has
 " made little progress in literature, but who is a great lover
 " and admirer of it. Who entertains the highest respect for
 " any excellence in others, as conscious of the want of it in
 " himself ; and who can easily yield to any one in learning, but
 " to none in integrity. A man sincere, open, free ; a hater of
 " falsehood and dissimulation ; of an humble, but upright
 " mind ; and from whom nothing is to be expected, besides an
 " honest heart. If, my dear Colet, you can love such a man, and
 " judge him worthy of your friendship, you may account me
 " your own, as effectually as any thing you can call so. Your
 " country of England is exceedingly agreeable to me on many
 " accounts, but more especially on this, which affords to me an
 " higher gratification than any thing besides, that it abounds
 " with men of admirable learning, of whom, when I account
 " you the chief, no man will think I do you more than justice." After which, Erasmus goes on to commend the style of Colet's letters, as easy, smooth, unaffected, flowing from a rich vein, as waters from a clear fountain head ; even, and in every part like itself, open, plain, modest, having nothing in it rough, or obscure, or turbid ; so that he could see the image of his soul in his letters. And then he thus concludes : " You speak what-
 " ever you mean, and mean all you speak. Words arise from
 " your heart, rather than your lips : they follow your concep-
 " tion, not your conception them. In short, you have that
 " happy facility, that you can deliver without pains, what ano-
 " ther could hardly express with the greatest labour. But, to
 " yourself, I refrain from your praises, lest I should offend your
 " delicacy ; knowing how unwilling they are to receive praise,
 " who are the most deserving of it. Farewell. Oxford, 1498."

A foundation of friendship being thus laid in writing between these two great men, ended in a very strict intimacy, which continued to the end of their lives. And as they were happy in each other's acquaintance, they did not neglect to improve it for their mutual advantage, by frequent conversations and conferences upon literary subjects. At a public dinner in the University, after a Latin sermon, the table-talk being scholastical and theological, Colet sat as Moderator. Among other discourse Colet said, That Cain's greatest offence, and the most odious in GOD's sight, was his distracting the bounty of our Great CREATOR, and placing too much confidence in his own art and industry ; and so applying himself to tilling of the ground, while his brother Abel, content with the natural productions of the earth,

earth, only employed himself in feeding sheep. Upon this argument the whole company engaged; and Colet argued by strict syllogisms, while Erasmus opposed in a more loose and rhetorical manner. But "in truth (says Erasmus) this one Divine (Colet) was more than a match for us all. He seemed to "be filled with a divine spirit, and to be somewhat above a "man. He spoke not only with his voice, but with his eyes, "his countenance, and his whole demeanour." When the disputation had been held too long, and was grown too grave and severe for such a cheerful entertainment, Erasmus broke it off, by telling an old story of Cain, from a pretended ancient author, but which was entirely the product of his own imagination and invention; and thus this friendly theological controversy ended.

Colet, as he was himself ambitious of cultivating a friendship with every person who was eminently distinguished for virtue, genius, or learning, so he obliged Erasmus by introducing him to the acquaintance of his fellow-citizen, Mr. More; of whom he used to say, that "he was the only wit in the island." Erasmus, in a letter to his patron, Lord Montjoy, dated from Oxford in 1498, takes particular notice of the kindness and civility of Colet, as well as of the Prior Charnock. And he says, that nothing could be more amiable and agreeable than the temper and conversation of these two men; and that he could live even in Scythia, or any the most remote part of the world, with two such agreeable friends and companions.

About the latter end of this year Erasmus, though extremely well pleased with his friends at Oxford, and with the manner in which he spent his time there, returned to London, in order to visit his friend and pupil Lord Montjoy, and to cultivate a better acquaintance with some of those studious and learned persons, who at that season of the year frequently resorted to the Court and City. But the next summer, it seems, he made a second visit to the University of Oxford, accompanied by Lord Montjoy. And it was at this time, as Dr. Knight supposes, that he and Colet first held their conferences upon our SAVIOUR's reluctances and fears before his last passion; the substance of which Erasmus put afterwards into writing.

Colet did not approve of the opinion of those Divines, who maintained, That our SAVIOUR, upon a prospect of his agonies, did in his human nature shrink from them; and, as man, was afraid of the Cross, and would have declined his sufferings on it. And that from the natural desire of escaping the trial and cruel torments, he let fall that expression, as it were of human weakness, FATHER, IF IT BE POSSIBLE, LET THIS CUP PASS FROM ME. He thought this avoidance of the shame and punishment, was unworthy of our SAVIOUR's ardent desire of mankind's redemption. He rather considered those signs of reluctance, to be only a way of recommending his resolution to bear all for the salvation of mankind, and giving the better trial

of his obedience and fortitude: that within the view of his cross, and bitter agonies upon it, it might the better become him to say, *NEVERTHELESS, NOT MY WILL, BUT THINE, O LORD, BE DONE.* And for this sense of the Scripture, he cited St. Jerome, &c. The other opinion was maintained by Erasmus, (as it was also by the schoolmen), who thought it did not derogate from the honour of our SAVIOUR, or from his love to mankind, and desire of promoting their salvation and felicity, to suppose that as he was become man, he would be subject to human infirmities, and exert that nature by flying from pain, and earnestly deprecating a deliverance from it. In this controversy Colet and Erasmus were an example of fair disputants; their contention being only for what to each of them appeared to be the truth. And Erasmus, in his epistle concerning this dispute, calls himself a rash fellow for presuming, and a raw soldier for entering the lists, with such an experienced General as Colet.

Colet had likewise proposed to Erasmus some doubts and queries relative to some dark and difficult passages in the Epistles of St. Paul; which Colet understood in a sense different from the common acceptation of the Church. But Erasmus declined treating of these by letter. "These matters, (said he), since it is dangerous to dispute openly of them, I had rather reserve to our private conversation, as fitter for word of mouth, than writing." Colet opposed and confuted a notion of Erasmus, and which also was held by many others, That the Holy Scriptures were so full and abounding, that they might contain several senses in the same words and expressions. "Not (said Colet) that I deny the fulness of the Scriptures. No; I admire the exuberant fruitfulness and plenitude of them. But I think it becomes a fruitful womb to have its birth of one kind, full, and perfect: not of various kinds, loose and undetermined in the nature of them."

Whenever these two great men differed in opinion, it was without the least anger or ill-will; and always with candour, and with temper. Their dispositions were of too liberal and ingenuous a cast, for them to entertain a worse opinion of each other, because they did not always happen to see things in the same light. Their contentions were only for truth, and for their mutual improvement. "When like two flints (said Colet) we are striking one another, if any spark of light flies out, let us eagerly catch at it. We seek not for our own opinion, but for the Truth; which, in this mutual conflict, may perhaps be extorted, as fire out of steel."

While Erasmus made some stay at Oxford, Colet was, on some account or other, called to a different part of the kingdom. But whatever was the distance between these two excellent friends, they maintained a constant correspondence, and Colet used to send his own servant to carry and bring back the letters that passed

passed between them. In one of them, Colet had kindly reproved Erasmus for some fault and omission in him; and though it does not appear from Erasmus's answer to Colet what it was, yet we find how well it worked with him, and that he thought these kind admonitions were rather an establishment, than a breach of friendship; and that, without such sincerity and plain-dealing, it was impossible it should subsist long.

Colet freely expressed to Erasmus his great dislike of that new Theology, which was unhappily brought into the Church by the modern schoolmen; and which was, in effect, nothing but the art of trifling and wrangling. He told him, that he had set himself against those scholastic Divines; and would, if possible, restore those theological studies which were founded upon the Scriptures, and the primitive Fathers. It was with this view, he told him, that he had publicly in Oxford expounded the Epistles of St. Paul; and should be glad of a partner in that labour of searching the Scriptures. And he earnestly pressed Erasmus to join with him, and to undertake a like public exposition of some part of the Old Testament, while he himself was employed in the New.

Erasmus, however, declined for the present any undertaking of this kind; alledging, in excuse, among other things, that he must soon return to Paris. However, he was some time detained in England, partly by the winter-season, and partly by an embargo which was laid upon all shipping, on account of Perkin Warbeck's escape out of the Tower. And he took this opportunity of retiring again from London to Oxford; for he chose rather to converse with Divines and scholars, than with Courtiers. And he exhorted Colet to persevere in his laudable endeavours of reforming the studies of divinity; and told him, that as soon as he was conscious to himself of a sufficient degree of strength and ability, he would readily come in to his assistance; and be diligent, at least, if not useful, in that excellent work. And, in the mean time, he assured him, that nothing could be a greater pleasure to him, than either in discourse, or by letter, to enquire into the right sense, and genuine meaning, of the Holy Scriptures.

Colet and Erasmus, in the course of their epistolary intercourse, in the true spirit of religion, friendship, and philosophy, consulted, assisted, and instructed one another. And their conversation, whilst they enjoyed each other's company in England, was of such a kind, as tended to promote their mutual studies and endeavours for the public good. And this friendly communication, and mutual assistance, they continued for many years afterwards. When Erasmus was preparing his New Testament, he was very much assisted by Colet; and the latter lent him two very authentic Latin copies, of such great antiquity, that he could not at first read the characters, and was forced to learn the alphabet, that he might understand them.

After Erasmus left England, Colet still continued to reside at Oxford, where he went on with his useful exposition of the Apostolical Epistles; and did it in so clear and affectionate a manner, that he made a great impression upon his audience (z). He had a great aversion to the SCHOOLMEN, whom he considered as an heavy fet of formal fellows, who might pretend to any thing, rather than to wit, or ingenuity. For to argue, he said, so elaborately about the opinions, and the very words of other men; to snarl, and make perpetual objections; and to distinguish and divide into a thousand niceties; all this, was rather the work of a poor and barren invention, than any thing else. And he entertained a most hearty contempt for the SCOTISTS; and chiefly because they would be Divines, without so much as reading the Scriptures; as Erasmus observed, with some indignation (a).

Erasmus, in an epistle from Cambridge, told Colet, that he was forced to fight for him with the Thomists and Scotists of that place. He was the more angry with them, on account of their endeavouring to prevent the progress of learning, and especially of the Greek language. These scholastic Doctors were so enraged at any attempts to promote the study of the Greek tongue, that they could not forbear flying out against it even in their pulpits; and they endeavoured to run it down under the notion

(z) "At this time it was a new thing to have readings upon the Scriptures, even in the place where a public divinity-lecture was founded by King Edward IV. And though theological disputations were frequently had in many houses, (especially of the religious), yet the scholastical divinity (which then generally prevailed) did very little concern itself with Scripture. Their readings were ushered in with a text, or rather a sentence, of Scotus and Aquinas. And the explication was not trying it by the word of GOD, but by the voice of scholastic interpreters, and the intricate turns of what they called Logic; which was then nothing but the art of corrupting human reason, and the Christian faith. It may be noted here, that the use and study of the Scriptures was so low at that time, and even in the University of Oxford, that the being admitted a bachelor of divinity, gave only liberty to read the master of the sentences, (Pet. Lombard), and the highest degree of Doctor of divinity did not admit a

man to the reading of the Scriptures: which made Mr. Colet so careless as to those degrees; who would not take them several years after he was capable of them."—Knight, P. 50, 51.

(a) It appears that Erasmus had no better opinion of these men than Colet. For in an epistle which he wrote to one of his pupils, he sets them out in their proper colours. While he was at Oxford, he had conversed much with them; and when he was at Paris, he was so much in their company, that it might, as he writes, be thought he had almost commenced one of them; 'a sleepy, surly fellow, of a frowning countenance, heavy eyes; a sort of walking ghost, and perfectly another man. The mysteries of their profound science, they affirm, cannot be attained by any one who holds a correspondence with the Muses or Graces. Their followers must unlearn all good letters, and cast up whatever they have drank upon the banks of Helicon. I will endeavour (says he) to take no pure

NOTION OF HERESY. Hence the proverb, CAVE A GRÆCIS, NE FIAS HÆRETICUS: FUGE LITERAS HEBRÆAS, NE FIAS JUDÆORUM SIMILIS; *That is,* Take care of Greek, lest you become an Heretic: avoid Hebrew, that you may not become like the Jews. Standish, who was a bitter enemy to Erasmus, in a declamation against him, filed him GRÆCULUS ISTE; and this was a long time afterwards the phrase for an HERETIC, or one falling under the suspicion of heretical pravity. And for this reason, those few that did understand any thing of Greek, were afraid to teach it, lest they should be thought to propagate Heresy.

This aversion to good literature, as Knight observes, remained all the reign of Henry VII. and the beginning of Henry VIII. About which time a preacher, at Oxford, declared openly at St. Mary's against the pernicious innovation of the Greek tongue; and raised such a ferment about it amongst the students, that the King, who was then at Woodstock, having had the matter rightly stated to him by Mr. Thomas More and the learned Richard Pace, sent his Royal letters to the University, to allow and encourage that study among the young men. Not long after this, a Divine, who was preaching at Court, declaimed and railed very violently against Greek learning, and NEW INTERPRETATIONS of the Scripture. Richard Pace, who was present, cast his eyes upon the King, to observe how he was affected with this discourse; and the King smiled upon Pace, by way of contempt of the preacher. After sermon, Henry sent for this Divine, and appointed a solemn disputation, at which he himself would be present, in order to debate the matter between the preacher opposing, and Mr. Thomas More defending, the use of the Greek tongue. When the appointed time came, More began with an eloquent apology in favour of that antient language. But the Divine, instead of answering to the purpose, fell down upon his knees before the King, and begged pardon for having given any offence in the pulpit. And he

‘ pure Latin, to say nothing smooth
‘ or smart, and by degrees I may be
‘ fit to be owned by them.—Yet I
‘ would not have you think that I
‘ say any thing against the profession
‘ of divinity, which I entirely love
‘ and honour; but only against the
‘ mongrel Divines of the present ge-
‘ neration; a sort of wretched crea-
‘ tures, whose brains are rotten,
‘ their language barbarous, their ap-
‘ prehension dull and stupid, their
‘ knowledge abstruse and knotty,
‘ their manners rough, their lives a
‘ mere scene of hypocrisy, their

‘ speech virulent, and their hearts as
‘ black as can be conceived.’

Erasmus, in another of his epistles, relates an incident, which sufficiently shews Colet's unfavourable opinion of that eminent schoolman, Thomas Aquinas. “ When I once took occasion (says Erasmus) to commend Thomas Aquinas, as not contemptible among the latter schoolmen, because he seemed to have studied the Scriptures, and to have consulted the primitive writers, he held his tongue, and seemed purposely to take no notice of it. But when afterwards, in another

he endeavoured to excuse himself by saying, that what he had done, was by the impulse of the spirit. "Not the spirit of CHRIST," (said Henry), "but the spirit of infatuation." The King then asked him, whether he had read the writings of Erasmus, against which he had declaimed? He answered in the negative. "Why then (said the King) you are a very foolish fellow, to censure what you have never read." I have read (said he) something they call MORIA. "Yes," (replied Pace), "may it please your Highness, such a subject is fit for such a reader." At last the preacher, to bring himself off, declared, that he was now better reconciled to the Greek tongue, because it was derived from the Hebrew. Upon which the King, who was amazed at the ignorance of the man, dismissed him; but with an express charge, that he should never again preach at Court (b).

These scholastic Divines, as Dr. Jortin observes, had some reason for their violent opposition to the progress of good literature. "They saw plainly (says that ingenious writer) that their authority would soon come to nothing, if the originals were consulted and examined; and they received so much advantage from the ignorance of the world, that they could not avoid suspecting and hating such learned innovations."

"All

another discourse with him, I said somewhat more in praise of Aquinas, he looked wistfully upon me, to observe whether I spake in jest or earnest. And taking me to be in earnest, he raised himself into some warmth, and said, Why are you so fond of commending that schoolman, who, without a great deal of arrogance, could never have reduced all things into such positive and dogmatical definitions; and without too much of a worldly spirit, he could never have so much corrupted and defiled the pure doctrine of the Gospel with his mixture of profane philosophy. I admired (says Erasmus) this freedom of Colet, in censuring the head and father of the Thomists. And it made me look a little more narrowly into the writings of that celebrated schoolman; which, when I had done, it abated very much of my former esteem for him."

"That Colet, by his own strength of judgment, (says Knight) and Erasmus, by his example, should have, in those dark days of ignorance and superstition, such sense and courage as to despise the schoolmen on both

sides; this was a good sign and token of their soon opening a way for the Reformation. For indeed those scholastic Divines, on both sides of the Church of Rome, had made themselves the pillars and buttresses of it; and when they were pulled away, the mighty fabric could not but appear weak, and ready to fall."

(b) "It ought to be looked upon (says Dr. Knight, P. 60.) as a singular providence, that King Henry VIII. was bred a scholar, and became a good judge in divinity; and likewise that some of his Prime Ministers were men of letters and languages. Otherwise the Court about this time might have been deluded by those old bigots, without ever seeing their hypocrisy and profound ignorance." Henry's taste for literature, and the encouragement he gave to men of letters, was certainly advantageous to the Reformation; and, upon the whole, we admit the justice of Dr. Knight's remark; though we cannot altogether agree with him in supposing, that Henry was ever a very good judge in divinity.

" All the rhetoric, and the address of Erasmus, could not soften and pacify them ; especially when the Reformation appeared, which was the offspring of these enquiries, and of this new light. For, if that age had continued under the same darkness, which had overspread the earth in the foregoing centuries, the decisions of the scholastic Doctors would still have been adored as heavenly truths (c)."

To fight with those old Theologues, the scholastic Divines, was, Dr. Knight observes, like FIGHTING WITH BEASTS AT EPHEBUS. And yet these were the monsters Colet often encountered with ; and he easily conquered them, though he could not convince them. For they always looked upon him with a jealous eye ; as besides his love of Greek learning, Colet had some other violent symptoms of HERESY upon him. And even his friend Erasmus owned, that he had much more HERETICAL PRAVITY in him, than he himself had. Indeed Colet thought some usages in the Church were intolerable, of which Erasmus had not conceived quite so bad an opinion ; but both agreed in the necessity of a Reformation. And it is certain, that both these great men did jointly promote and forward it : not only by pulling down those strong holds of ignorance and corruption, the scholastical divinity, and routing entirely both the Scotists and Thomists, who had divided the Christian world between them (d) ; but also in discovering the shameful abuses of monasteries, and houses called religious, and the evils which were produced by imposing celibacy on the Clergy.

In 1502, Colet was made Prebendary of Durnesford, in the church of Sarum ; and on the 20th of January, 1503-4, he resigned his Prebend of Good Easter. In 1504, he took the degree of Doctor in divinity. And on the 5th of May, 1505, he was instituted to the Prebend of Mora, in the cathedral church of St. Paul. And notwithstanding the odium which Colet had gained amongst the generality of the churchmen, and although he was destitute of any kind of ambition, except that noble one of doing good, and being serviceable to mankind, he was, without the least application of his own, made Dean of St. Paul's cathedral, in the same year, and in the same month, in the room of Dr. Robert Sherburne, promoted to the See of St. David's.

(c) *Vid.* Life of Erasmus, Vol. I. P. 159.

(d) " It is certain, that the reformation of languages, and the learning of the antients, was now owing to a disrelish of the barbarous schoolmen, and a new taste of classic authors, old Greeks and Romans. But the students in Scotus and Aquinas had got such a rude style, and such an intricate way of puzzling the world, that they had much to unlearn, before they could attain to any

benefit in those politer studies. And this was not only the case in England, but in other countries. At Florence, the first academy of tongues and arts, we find the noble Jo. Picas Mirandula complaining of his blind and slavish way of education ; and his grievous loss of time, being so laboriously idle among the schoolmen ; to no purpose, but to gain an ill habit of mind." — Knight, P. 61, 62.

vid's (e). That penetrating Prince Henry VII. who, as Sir Henry Wotton remarks, loved to confer unexpected and undesired favours, thought this preferment very proper for Colet, on account of his being a most eminent Divine, and excellent preacher; and as St. Paul's was the chief church in his capital city, of which Colet was a native, and the son and heir of one who had been twice its chief Magistrate.

This advancement of Dr. Colet, gave great pleasure to all who were acquainted with his merit, and who were proper judges of it. His friend Erasmus, who was at this time at Paris, in the house of Christopher Fisher, an Englishman, a friend of Colet's, and an encourager and promoter of good literature, wrote him a letter of congratulation on his preferment; and in which he desired him now and then to steal an hour from his studies and other avocations to write to him. He also expressed his wonder, that Colet had not yet published his Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, and on some of the four Evangelists. He supposed that his modesty was the cause of this; but that, he told him, ought to be conquered, when the public good required it. As to his Doctor's degree, and the honour of a Deanery, and some other such rewards of virtue and merit, he could not, he said, so much congratulate him upon them, who would have nothing but the labour and the burthen of them, as he did the world, which would have the benefit. And as to the honours themselves, they then only seemed worthy of their name, when they fell, as in the present case, upon a man of merit, without any solicitation of his own.

Dr. Colet soon began to distinguish himself in his new station. He restored and reformed the decayed discipline of his cathedral church, and brought in what was a new practice there, the preaching himself upon Sundays, and all solemn festivals. And in this course of preaching, he did not take a desultory text out of the Gospel or Epistle for the day; but he chose a fixed and larger subject, as St. Matthew's Gospel, the Creed, and the like; and made successive sermons upon them, till he had gone through the whole. And he had there always a crowded audience, amongst whom were the chief Magistrates of the city (f). And that St. Paul's church might be constantly supplied, the Dean called in to his assistance other Divines of learning and ability, amongst whom was William Grocyn. Another of his assistants was John Sowle, a Carmelite in the
White

(e) When Dr. Colet was made Dean of St. Paul's, he resigned the Vicarage of Stepney, the date of his admission to which does not appear. *Vid. Biographia Britannica*, Vol. II. P. 1404.

(f) "The frequent preaching of Dean Colet, in his own cathedral, set

a good example to some other Deans, to do the same good office in their respective churches. As particularly at Litchfield, Dr. Collingwood introduced the practice of preaching every Sunday, being the first and only preacher of all the Deans there."—Knight, P. 66.

White Friars, in Fleet-street, who was a great admirer and preacher of the doctrine of St. Paul, and of an unblameable life and conversation; and, therefore, much valued and esteemed by Colet.

The public lecturers, both in the Universities, and in the cathedral churches, made it a general custom to read upon any book, rather than upon the Scriptures, till Dean Colet reformed that practice, and both in the University of Oxford, and in St. Paul's cathedral, introduced the reading and expounding St. Paul's Epistles, or some other parts of the Scripture. And after he had retained several learned men successively, to read these theological lectures in his church, for which he made them a generous allowance, he at last procured a settlement for ever, for such a lecture to be constantly read there three days in every week (g). And these divinity-lectures, and the Dean's method of expounding the Scriptures, raised among the people an enquiry after the sacred writings, which had hitherto been laid aside for the school-divinity. And this, together with the contempt which Colet expressed for the religious houses, and the display which he made of their abuses, greatly contributed to prepare the people's minds for the Reformation.

But though Dean Colet exposed with great freedom the corruptions of the monastic orders, it appears that he did not disapprove of those institutions themselves, but only of the abuse of them. This we are told by Erasmus, who says of him, "No man was more a friend to true Christian piety, yet he had little or no kindness for Monks, or rather I should say for those

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who

(g) "It is true, divinity lectures had been read in Latin within many other cathedral churches, for the benefit of the Priests and Clerks belonging to them. But the subject of them (as of all sermons *ad clerum* in the two Universities, and in all ordinary visitations of the rural Clergy) was commonly a question in scholastic theology, running into frivolous doubts, and elaborate resolutions out of the oracles of Scotus, and his puzzling interpreters; not to edification, but to a confounding the thoughts of GOD and religion."

"It therefore redounds much to the honour of Dean Colet, that he first engaged to purge away that barbarous divinity out of the capital church of St. Paul, and to introduce the more Christian practice of interpreting and expounding the Holy Scriptures; and especially the Epistles of St. Paul, which contain the fundamental doctrines of salvation; and with which he was to that degree enamoured,

that he seemed to be wholly wrapt up in them."—"Till his time (to say nothing of those portions of Scripture which were recited in the Latin offices) there was scarce so much as a Latin Testament in any cathedral church in England. Instead of the Gospel of CHRIST, there was, forsooth, the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, affixed to a pillar in the nave of the church; as Erasmus himself says, and admired at it, in the metropolitical church of Canterbury."—Knight, P. 70, 71, 72.

Erasmus himself had prepared some lectures by way of Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which he at first undertook by the suggestion and example of Colet at Oxford, and afterwards enlarged by his advice, with an intention to read them in St. Paul's church, at his second coming into England. But Erasmus's many other avocations prevented his executing this design.

who are now, for the most part falsely, so called. And, therefore, he gave them little while he lived, and nothing when he died. Not that he hated their professions, but because he saw their lives were not answerable. For he was himself desirous of being disengaged from the world, and of entering into some religious society, if he could have found any such, who were really determined to live agreeably to the rules of the Gospel. And when I went into Italy, he desired me to endeavour to find out such an one for him, telling me that he had found some Monks there who were really wise and pious men; for he could not consider THAT as religion, or a religious life, which was so called by the common people, and which was often no other than weakness of understanding, and want of parts. He also commended some Monks in Germany, among whom some footsteps of the primitive religion still remained." In this design of entering into a monastic life, we think Colet's usual good sense and judgment failed him. How much better was he employed, how much more agreeable to the rational and benevolent designs of Christianity, in promoting the practice of piety and virtue, by his influence and example, and by the eloquence of his preaching, than he could have been in any monastic cell whatever!

"He used to say (proceeds Erasmus) that he never found better or purer manners, than among the married men; whose natural affection to their wives, and care of their children, and government of their families, kept them from violating the laws of reason and virtue. And though he himself led a most unspotted life, yet among those men who took more liberty, and were any way vicious, he had most charity for those Priests or Monks, who offended only in the article of chastity. Not but that he heartily abominated their sins of uncleanness: but still he said, they were better than those of their order, who whilst they were proud, envious, railers, backbiters, hypocrites, vainglorious, ignorant, and given up to avarice and ambition, yet set a very high value upon themselves; whilst the other frailer brethren, conscious of their own infirmities, were made more humble and modest by it. He said, that for a Priest to be habitually proud and avaritious, was worse than to keep an hundred concubines. But let it not be inferred from hence, that he thought such impurity a venial sin in a Priest or Monk. No; he only thought those who were filled with pride and avarice, to be at a still greater distance from true piety. And there was no class of men to whom he had a greater aversion, than to such Bishops as acted the part of wolves, instead of shepherds. He thought none could be more execrable than these; because under the pretence of devotions, ceremonies, benedictions, and indulgences, they recommended themselves to the veneration of the people, whilst in their own hearts they were perfect slaves to the world, and minded nothing but the glory and the gain of it."

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This train of thinking, and his free communication of sentiments of this kind to his friends, did not fail of exposing Colet to the jealousy and hatred of the Clergy. However, he went boldly on in detecting many of the corruptions in the faith and worship of the Church of Rome. He favoured those who disliked the custom of worshipping images in Christian churches. "And as to those who questioned (says Erasmus) whether the wickedness of the Priest did not take away the efficacy of the Sacrament, which was administered by him; though he could not agree with them in opinion, yet he conceived a great indignation against such among the Clergy, as by the scandalous immorality of their lives, gave rise to such a notion. The Colleges in England, which were built and endowed with great magnificence and liberality, did, he said, rather hinder than promote the right course of study, and the advancement of learning; and were little better than receptacles for idle people. Nor had he a much better opinion of the public schools, because the avarice and ambition of the teachers and professors prevented them from pursuing the proper methods of teaching. He very much approved of private confession, professing that he received much comfort and inward satisfaction from the use of it; but yet he could not but condemn the frequent repetitions of what they called *AURICULAR CONFESSION*."

"He had a very high esteem for the Apostolical Epistles; but he had a much higher veneration for the words of our SAVIOUR in the Gospels, which he thought greatly superior to the other. And, therefore, he selected all the sayings of our SAVIOUR under certain heads, and intended to write a book upon them. He very much disliked, that Priests should be enjoined to run over every day a course of tedious and prolix prayers, whether at home, or on journies; for he would have all divine service performed in the most solemn manner. He dissented very much from many opinions which were commonly received and maintained in the schools, and he would sometimes discourse very freely about them among his familiar friends; but he was more reserved in his conversation with others, being apprehensive that by a contrary practice he might bring an odium upon himself, and do no good to those with whom he conversed. And there was no book so *HERETICAL*, that he would not read it over with attention; for he declared, that he often learnt more out of these, than from such *ORTHODOX* writers as made a point of always going in the same track that others lead them."

"Thus it is very plain (says Dr. Knight) that the Dean was got clear of many of the grossest errors and rankest superstitions of the Romish Church; which, considering the age he lived in, was as much as could be expected; and much more than was commonly practised at that time. But either out of conformity to the common usages of the Church, or thinking some of the

rites and ceremonies not in themselves sinful, he complied with them in other things. And yet (adds the Doctor) the bigots of that Church gave him a great deal of disturbance, for his swerving from those palpable errors which make up the main of their religion; such as worshipping of images, auricular confession, &c. And as for the doctrine of Purgatory, which, of all others, is the most gainful among them, it appears from a passage in his Comment on the Epistle to the Corinthians, that he did by no means approve of it."

Though Dean Colet had not made any open attack upon the Church, he could not avoid being considered as an enemy to it. For in his frequent preaching at St. Paul's, and before the King, and in other populous assemblies, he did not refrain from speaking with some freedom and boldness against the vulgar superstitions, and prevailing corruptions, in the Romish Church. And the Dean had also another symptom of Heresy; this was his being disposed to shew tenderness and compassion to those persons who were persecuted under the name of Lollards. One of these having been censured and condemned in the spiritual court, and delivered over to the secular power as an obstinate Heretic, Dean Colet had the humanity and the courage to interpose with the King in his behalf, and was so successful, as by his single interest to procure the life and liberty of the condemned person. An act of generous compassion, for which he was highly praised by Erasmus.

The generality of the Ecclesiastics did, however, consider this behaviour of Colet in a very different point of view. And they were so much inflamed against him on this account, as well as on account of the heretical tenets which he inculcated in his preaching, that a prosecution was commenced against him for Heresy; which was chiefly carried on by Dr. Fitz-James, Bishop of London. Of this affair Erasmus gives the following account: "The Dean (says he) had never been upon good terms with his Bishop; who, to say nothing of his manners, was an obstinate and superstitious Scotist, and for that reason thought himself half a God. Of which kind of men, though I know some whom I will not call knaves, yet I never saw one whom I thought I might truly term a Christian. But Colet was also disliked by the Prebends of his own cathedral, to whom his love of regular manners, and orderly discipline, was by no means agreeable. And now the hatred of the old Bishop (for he was fourscore years of age) having arisen to too great a height to be any longer concealed, he called in to his assistance two other Bishops, equally virulent and bigotted with himself; and they, in conjunction, began to create Colet a great deal of trouble and vexation; though they made use of no other weapon than a charge of Heresy; but that, indeed, was then esteemed the most fatal engine they could pitch upon for the destruction of their enemies. Accordingly they drew up certain articles, taken out of his

his sermons, and exhibited them against him to the Archbishop of Canterbury. One of these articles was, that he had taught that images were not to be worshipped. A second, that he had preached against the temporal possessions of the Bishops; by denying that the repeated exhortation of CHRIST to Peter, TO FEED HIS SHEEP, could be at all meant of hospitality, or the worldly ways of entertainment, because the Apostles were then poor, and unable to give any such reception. A third was, that he had preached against some men's cold and unaffected manner of reading their sermons; whereby he must be understood to reflect upon the Bishop himself, who, on account of his age, was accustomed to do so. But the Archbishop (Warham), who knew the integrity and worth of Colet, undertook to defend the innocent party; and instead of his Judge, became his advocate and patron, and dismissed him without giving him the trouble of putting in any formal answer (*b*)."

In 1510, died Sir Henry Colet, father to the Dean (*i*). In consequence of which the Dean, being his father's sole heir, succeeded to a very considerable estate. Whatever revenues he derived from the Church, he delivered to his steward, to be expended in house-keeping and hospitality. And the yearly produce of his paternal estate he employed in acts of piety, benevolence, and generosity. However, as he had no very near relations,

(*b*) "There may be room to conjecture, that the proceedings of the Bishop against Dean Colet, were not by way of first instance before Archbishop Warham, but rather by appeal. That the Bishop of London had given the Dean a citation at least to his own consistory, (where his Lordship was often found proceeding against Heretics) and upon contempt for not answering the allegations, the Bishop had denounced some sentence of suspension or silence against him. This is sufficiently intimated in other letters of Erasmus: and from this sentence Dr. Colet might appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who being a Prelate of greater wisdom and moderation, saw through the charge, that it was frivolous and vexatious; and so with a larger soul, and more Christian charity, he defended the good man from that persecution; and encouraged him to return to his plain and useful way of preaching."—Knight, P. 92.

"Mr. Fox has observed, that William Tyndal, in his book answering M. More, addeth moreover, and testifieth, that the Bishop of London

would have made the said Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, an Heretic, for translating the *Pater Noster* into English, had not the Archbishop of Canterbury stood up for the Dean."

"Bishop Latimer, who was at that time a young student at Cambridge, remembered the noise that the prosecution of Dean Colet for Heresy then made, and says expressly, That "he was not only in trouble, but should have been burnt, if God had not turned the King's heart to the contrary."—Knight, P. 93.

(*i*) Sir HENRY COLET was a younger son of Robert Colet of Wendover in Buckinghamshire, Esq; and born in that county at the manor of Hale. He was bred a mercer in London, where he acquired a very considerable fortune. In the year 1477, he was the elder of the two Sheriffs of London; and in part of the years 1485, and 1487, Lord-Mayor of that city: as he was again, a second time, in part of the years 1495, and 1496. After he had lived many years with great reputation and honour, he died in an advanced age, and was buried at Stepney.

tions, he determined, in the midst of his life and health, to consecrate the whole property of his estate to some standing and perpetual benefaction. He had some debate with himself with respect to what he should pitch upon for this purpose, which would be of the greatest public utility. And after mature deliberation, he determined to found a grammar-school for the instruction of youth in the Greek and Latin languages, in order to prepare them for the Universities; for he considered this design as the best calculated to promote the restoration and improvement of learning (f).

Having thus fixed upon the nature of his intended charity, he could not be long in determining the place of it. London was his native city, and he bore another relation to it, as Dean of its cathedral church. He also observed that the city was in nothing more deficient, than in public schools for the education of youth. "And he thought for his further encouragement, (says Dr. Knight), that the sons of his fellow-citizens were naturally more capable of learning, than those who had a rustical birth and breeding." Accordingly, agreeable to these sentiments, he founded St. Paul's school in London, which he endowed with lands and tenements, which produced then one hundred and twenty-two

(f) "At this time the common way for the Nobility and Gentry to educate their sons, was to send them into a religious convent, especially of the Dominicans, Franciscans, or Augustine Friars: Where (as Erasmus says) "They had not above three months time allowed them for learning grammar; and then immediately were posted away to sophistry, logic, suppositions, ampliations, restrictions, expositions, resolutions, and a thousand quibbles, and so on to the mysteries of divinity. But if they were brought to any classic author, Greek or Latin, they were blind, they were ignorant, they thought themselves in another world." Yet the age began now to be wiser, and to be well versed in grammar learning was thought a matter of greater importance by all who were well withers to the restoration of learning. Particularly Bishop Waynfleet, in founding his three schools at Waynfleet, Brackley, and within Magdalen College in Oxford, took care that in those different parts of the kingdom the seeds of Greek and human literature might be early sown, to yield a plentiful increase through the whole nation, And in his foundation

of Magdalen College, as he provided sufficient salaries for a master and usher to teach boys the rudiments of that tongue, so for the scholars of his house that should grow up to greater maturity in age and learning, he settled a particular Professor to confirm and perfect them in that language."—Knight, P. 119, 120.

WILLIAM WAYNFLEET, Bishop of Winchester, and founder of Magdalen College, Oxford, was the son of Richard Patten, Esq; by his wife Margery, daughter of Sir William Brereton of Cheshire. He was born at Waynfleet in Lincolnshire, from whence he took his name. He was made Provost of Eaton College by King Henry VI. and was raised to the See of Winchester upon the death of Cardinal Beaufort, in 1447. He presided thirty-nine years over that See, and adhered so closely to the interest of Henry VI. that he was frowned upon by Edward IV. He died in 1486, after he had seen, in his great joy, the House of Lancaster restored in the person of Henry VII. He had the reputation of a good Prelate, and was esteemed a person of considerable abilities.

twenty-two pounds annually, but this income hath been since greatly increased. " And this school, (says Knight), which has continued for above two hundred years, could we but give the reader a complete catalogue of the names of the most considerable persons bred up in it, would have no cause to envy any of its standing in Europe (†)."

Eraſmus gives the following account of this foundation of Dean Colet's. " Upon the death of his father, (ſays he), when by right of inheritance he was become poſſeſſed of a very conſiderable ſum of money; left the keeping of it ſhould corrupt his mind, and turn it too much towards the world, he laid out a great part of it in building a new ſchool in the church yard of St. Paul's, dedicated to the child JESUS. A magnificent fabric; to which he added two dwelling-houſes for the two ſeveral maſters: and to them he allotted ample ſalaries, that they might teach a certain number of boys GRATIS; but they were not to exceed the ſtipulated number. He divided the ſchool into four apartments. The firſt, viz. the porch and entrance, is for Catechumens, or the children to be inſtructed in the principles of religion; where no child is to be admitted, but what can read and write. The ſecond apartment is for the ſlower boys, to be taught by the ſecond maſter, or uſher. The third for the upper forms, under the head maſter: which two parts

(†) " This noble impulse of Christian charity, in the founding of grammar schools, was one of the providential ways and means for bringing about the blessed Reformation. And it is therefore observable, that within thirty years before it, there were more grammar schools erected and endowed in England, than had been in three hundred years preceding. One at Chichester by Dr. Edward Story, Bishop of that See, who left a farther benefaction to it by his last will, dated 8th Dec. 1501. Another at Manchester, by Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, who died 1519. Another at Binton in Somersetshire, by Dr. Fitz-James, Bishop of London, and his brother Sir John Fitz-James, Lord Chief Justice of England. A fourth at Cirencester in Gloucestershire, by Dr. Thomas Ruthal, Bishop of Durham. A fifth at Roſtſton in Staffordshire, by Dr. Robert Sherburne, predecessor to Dr. Colet in the Deanery of St. Paul's. A sixth at Kingſton upon Hull, by John Alcock, Bishop of Ely. A ſeventh at Sutton-Colſeld in Warwickſhire, by Dr. John

Harman, (alias Veyſey), Biſhop of Exeter. An eighth at Farnworth in Lancaſhire, by Dr. William Smith, Biſhop of Lincoln, born there. A ninth at Appleby in Weſtmoreland, by Thomas Langton, Biſhop of Wincheſter. A tenth at Ipſwich in Suffolk, by Cardinal Wolſey. Another at Winburne in Dorſetſhire, by Margaret, Counteſs of Richmond. Another at Wolverhampton in Staffordſhire, by Sir Stephen Jennings, Mayor of London. Another at Maccleſfield in Cheſhire, by Sir John Percival, Mayor of London; as alſo another by the Lady Thomasine his wife, at St. Mary Wike in Devonſhire, where ſhe was born: and another at Walthamſtow in Eſſex, by George Monnox, Mayor of London, 1515. Beſides ſeveral other ſchools in other parts of the kingdom. And after the Reformation was eſta-bliſhed, the piety and charity of Proteſtants ran ſo faſt in this channel, that in the next age there wanted rather a regulation of grammar ſchools, than an increaſe of them."—Knight, P. 200.

parts of the school are divided by a curtain to be drawn at pleasure. Over the master's chair is an image of the child JESUS, of admirable workmanship, in the gesture of teaching; whom all the boys, at going in and coming out, salute with a short hymn. And there is a representation of GOD, saying, HEAR YE HIM; these words being written by my suggestion. The fourth, or last apartment, is a little chapel for divine service. The school has no corners, or hiding places, nor no conveniency for indolence or sleep. The boys have their distinct forms, or benches, one above another. Every form holds sixteen; and he that is head, or captain of each form, has a little kind of desk, by way of pre-eminence. They are not to admit all boys of course, but to chuse them according to their parts and capacities.

"The wise and sagacious founder saw that the greatest hopes and happiness of the common-wealth, were in the training up of children to good literature and true religion. For which noble purpose he laid out an immense sum of money; and yet he would admit no one to bear a share in this expence. Some person having left a legacy of one hundred pounds sterling towards the fabric of the school, Colet perceived a design in it; and, by leave of the Bishop, procured that money to be laid out upon the vestments of the church of St. Paul. After he had finished all, he left the perpetual care and oversight of the estate and government of his school, not to the Clergy, nor to the Bishop, nor to the Chapter, nor to any of the Nobility; but amongst married laymen, (the company of mercers), men of probity and reputation. And when he was asked the reason why he so committed this trust, he answered to this effect, "That there was no absolute certainty in human affairs; but, for his part, he found less corruption in such a body of citizens, than in any other order or degree of mankind." Dean Colet appointed William Lily to be the first high or chief master of his school (1).

Erasmus,

(1) WILLIAM LILY, or LILYE, was born at Oldham, in Hampshire, about 1466. After a good foundation of school learning, he was sent to Magdalen College, Oxford, and admitted a Deny there at the age of eighteen. Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he quitted the University, and went, for religion's sake, to Jerusalem. In his return, he staid some time at the isle of Rhodes, to study the Greek language; several learned men having taken refuge under the protection of the Knights there, after the taking of Constantinople. He afterwards went to Rome, where he further improved

himself in the Latin and Greek languages, under John Sulpitius and Pomponius Sabinus. On his arrival in England, in 1509, he settled in London, and taught grammar, poetry, and rhetoric, with good success. Being afterwards appointed by Dr. Colet master of St. Paul's school, he exercised that laborious and useful employ for the space of twelve years; and in that time educated a great number of youths, some of whom proved very great men. He died of the plague in 1532, aged fifty-four, and was buried in the north yard belonging to St. Paul's cathedral. He is highly praised by Erasmus, who revised

Erasmus, while he was at Cambridge, endeavoured to find out a proper person, agreeable to Colet's desire, to be an usher, or second master to the Dean's school, under William Lily; but he was unsuccessful in his enquiry, not being able to meet with any one who was qualified for it, that would undertake it. Of his endeavours for that purpose, he himself gives the following account. "Colet (says Erasmus) entreated me to seek out a man whom I thought a fit under-master for his school. And I enquired in many places, but could hear of none. At length, being at Cambridge, among some masters of arts, I proposed it to them. And upon this one of them, and he a person in no mean estimation, said to me, in a flouting way, "Who would

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revised the Syntax in his grammar, for his uncommon knowledge in the languages, and admirable skill in the instruction of youth. He was very intimate with Sir Thomas More, to whose Latin translations of several Greek epigrams are prefixed some done by Lily. By his wife Agnes, Mr. Lily had two sons, George and Peter, both learned men. The eldest of them published the first exact map that was ever drawn of this island. Mr. Lily had also a daughter named Dionysia, who was married to John Ritwyfe, usher, and afterwards successor to him in the mastership of St. Paul's school.—He published the following pieces:

I. *In enigmatica Bossi Antibossicon primum, secundum, tertium, ad Gulielm. Hermannum.* Lond. 1521. 4to. These three Antibossicons are written in a witty and elegant manner, not only against the said Horman, who was master of Eaton school, but also against Robert Whittington, a laurea: grammarian and rhetorician; who, under the feigned name of Bossus, had much provoked Lily with his satirical verses.

II. *Pœmata varia.* Printed with those Antibossicons.

III. *Apologia ad R. Whittingtonum.*

IV. *Apologia ad Johannem Sheltonum.*

V. *De laudibus Disparæ virginis.* In praise of the Virgin Mary.

VI. *Super Philippi archiducis ap-
passu.* This is an excellent Latin poem, and was written to celebrate the arrival and reception of Philip, King of Castile, and his Queen, cast upon the coasts of Cornwall, in their passage from Flanders to Spain.

VII. *De Caroli quinti Cesaris adventu panegyricum.* In 1522, Charles V. Emperor of Germany, was here in England, and nobly entertained by King Henry VIII. And at their solemn procession through the city of London, Mr. Lily caused this elegant panegyric upon the Emperor, in verse, and an oration in prose, also composed by himself, to be publicly recited before him, by one of his scholars.

Baie and Pitts also mention some orations, epigrams, and various sorts of verses and letters of his, in Latin. And he translated several things out of Greek and Latin; and out of Italian a book upon dice-play.

As for the grammar which goes under his name, and which was drawn up for the use of St. Paul's school, it was not, as Mr. Thomas Baker observes, "composed by Mr. Lily alone, but was done by some of the most considerable men of the age: the English rudiments by Dr. Colet, with a preface to the first editions, directing its use, by no less man than Cardinal Wolsey; the most rational part, the Syntax, was writ or corrected by Erasmus, and the other parts by other hands: so that though Mr. Lily now bears the name, which while living he always modestly refused, yet it was carried on by the joint endeavours of several learned men, and he perhaps had not the largest share in that work."—*Vide* Biographia Britannica, Vol. V. P. 2968. Biographical Dictionary, 8vo. Vol. VII. P. 510. and Knight's Life of Colet, P. 370.

"lead such a slavish life among boys, in a school, if he could support himself any other way?" I answered gravely, that the office of instructing youth in letters and good manners, was a very creditable office; that our Blessed SAVIOUR himself did not despise the conversing with children; that no age was so capable of good instruction; and that a man could no where bestow his pains with a better prospect of success, than at St. Paul's school, which was in the heart of the city, and in the centre of the kingdom. Besides, said I, if men have a true sense of religion, they must needs think that there is no better way of pleasing and serving GOD, than by the bringing of children to CHRIST. But upon this he turned up his nose, and said in a deriding manner, "If any man desires to be an absolute servant of CHRIST, he may go into a monastery, and take the vows of religion upon him." I told him, St. Paul placed true religion in works of charity, and that charity consisted in doing as much good to our neighbours as we could. But he laughed at this, as a silly way of talking. "Behold," (said he), we have left all; in that is perfection." No, said I, a man cannot be said to have left all, who, when he can do good to the world in any station, declines it, because he thinks it too mean for him. And so, to prevent any further altercation, I took my leave of him. But here (says Erasmus) you see the wisdom of the Scoists."

In 1511, at the opening of the convocation of the province of Canterbury, Archbishop Warham appointed Dean Colet to preach the Latin sermon on that occasion. And in this sermon, which is still extant, the Dean attacked the corruptions of the Church and Clergy in so warm and spirited a manner, as could not fail of rendering him exceedingly obnoxious to the generality of the Ecclesiastics.——At the close of our account of this worthy man, we shall give some extracts from this sermon, as it is so remarkable a one, as to merit particular attention.

We have seen that the Clergy were unsuccessful in one of their attempts to ruin Colet, by bringing against him a charge of Heresy; at which time he was supported and patronized by Archbishop Warham. But their want of success the first time, did not discourage them from making other attempts to ruin him, whenever they could see any opportunity. And they thought it might answer their purpose, if instead of the suspicion of Heresy, they could fix the misprision of treason upon him. Accordingly, King Henry having determined upon a war with France, they suggested to his Majesty, that Dean Colet had, at this juncture, preached up this false doctrine, "That the most dishonourable peace was preferable to the justest war." Two of the Franciscan Friars, Standish and Bricot, (the first of whom was soon after Bishop of St. Asaph), opened upon this occasion; and one of them, in his pulpit, declaimed loudly against poets, meaning the Dean, as well versed in the classics, and a
good

good master of music, though otherwise, says Knight, far from a maker of verses. The young King (Henry VIII.) hearing these complaints, gave, on this occasion, a remarkable instance of wisdom, and of moderation. He sent for Dean Colet, and in private advised him to go on in reproving and reforming a corrupt and dissolute age, and to let his light shine in the midst of so much prevailing darkness. He was not ignorant, he said, that this had provoked some of the Prelates against him; but, for his part, he was sensible how much service and honour he had done to the whole nation, by the excellence of his preaching, and the purity of his manners. And he, therefore, told him, that he would humble his adversaries, and satisfy the world that they who struck at Dr. Colet should not go unpunished. The Dean thanked the King for his Royal goodness to him; but as to any punishment of his unreasonable adversaries, he begged that no one might suffer any thing on his account. He had rather, he said, give up his Deanery, and live altogether in privacy and silence.

Dean Colet bore the malicious attacks of his enemies with the meekness and patience of a Christian; though he was naturally of an high and impatient spirit. But this defect in his temper, he took the utmost pains to correct. Erasmus tells us, that Colet had "an old uncle, of so froward, perverse, and refractory a disposition, that he could never agree with him. And they had besides a difference between them about a very considerable sum of money; not a trifle, (says Erasmus), but so much that a son might almost have fought with his father about it. And Colet being to dine with Archbishop Warham, took me (says he) in the boat with him, from St. Paul's to Lambeth. All the way, he read the remedy of anger in my *Enchiridion*; but did not tell me on what account he read it. When we sat down, it happened that Colet sat over-against his uncle, and was so troubled in his own mind, that he could neither talk nor eat. The Archbishop, who had an admirable talent of making all his company easy and chearful, by adapting his discourse to their several humours and inclinations, began to talk of our several ages, who was old, and who young. Upon this topic, they who had said nothing before, began to be very free and familiar. And the uncle, according to the custom of old men, boasted what he could do at his years. After dinner, the Archbishop, with the uncle and nephew, had some private discourse between themselves; but what it was, I cannot tell. When Colet and I were come back to the boat, he said to me, "Well, Erasmus, you are a very happy man." I wondered for what reason he should call me happy; for I considered myself as much otherwise. But he told me, that he had that day been so exceedingly incensed against his uncle, that he had well nigh resolved to have put off the kinsman, and even the Christian, and to have come to an open rupture with him. That under this commotion

of mind he had taken my Enchiridion into his hand, and had read over the advice for the restraint of anger ; which had done him so much good, that he commanded himself at table, and came to such a temper with his old uncle, that presently after dinner, when the Archbishop stepped aside with them, and they talked together privately, the whole difference was composed (*m*). In a word, (says Erasmus), Colet did daily so endeavour to conquer all his passions, and subdue the haughtiness of his mind by reason, that he would take it well to be admonished even by a servant."

Notwithstanding the repulse which Dean Colet's enemies had received in their late attempt to ruin him, an occurrence happened soon after, which gave them fresh hopes of being able to succeed in their design. Archbishop Warham, whose business it was to appoint those who were to preach before the King during the time of Lent, had appointed Colet to preach before his Majesty on Good Friday. And in the course of the Dean's sermon on that occasion, in which he treated of CHRIST's victory over death and the grave, he exhorted all Christians to fight manfully under this Captain of their salvation, and to come off more than conquerors. He spoke also of reconciling the differences of Christian States and Princes ; and exhorted men to conquer those lusts, FROM WHENCE COME WARS AND FIGHTINGS AMONGST THEM. He said, those worldly wicked men, who fought with one another out of hatred and ambition, and were hurried on to slay and to destroy one another, did not fight under the banner of CHRIST, but under the ensigns and tokens of the Devil. He shewed how hard it was to die like a Christian in a day of battle ; and how few there were who undertook wars, but in malice, or from avarice or ambition, or some other unwarrantable passion ; and how inconsistent the imbruing of hands in blood was with Christian charity. And he finally exhorted, that those who were finishing their warfare under CHRIST's banner, should not imitate the Alexanders and the Cæsars, but their own humble Lord and Master, CHRIST. The King was a little disturbed at this doctrine ; and apprehensive that such a powerful dissuasive from war might cool the minds of his subjects, and even intimidate his soldiers, as it was at the juncture of his declaring a war against France. And, therefore, immediately after sermon, he sent for the Dean, who waited his Majesty's pleasure in the Franciscan monastery, adjoining to the Royal Palace at Greenwich. The King went down to walk in the convent-garden ; and when Dr. Colet came to him, he dismissed all his attendants. The Bishop of London, and his party,

(*m*) " This story Erasmus was wont to make good use of ; telling it to people that were at difference, and hard to be reconciled ; and recommending to them this example

of reading a good book, talking coolly to understand one another, and leaving the matter in dispute to an amicable arbitration." — Knight, P. 248.

party, who hated the Dean, and especially Friar Bricot, were waiting in the Palace; full of hopes, and of expectation, that the preacher would fall under the suspicion of treason, and the King's highest displeasure in consequence of it, and that he would be immediately sent from the Court to prison. But, on the contrary, as the King and Dean Colet were alone in the garden, Henry commanded him to be covered, and then spoke to him in this friendly manner: "Master Dean, that you may fear no harm, I sent for you at this time; not to interrupt your holy labours in preaching, which I would rather encourage and promote; but to disburthen my own conscience of some scruples upon it, and by your ghostly advice to direct myself in the present posture of my affairs." The King then told him, that he was now engaged in a war against the French King; not at his own desire, but by force and urgent necessity, for the defence of his kingdom. And, therefore, though the Doctor, in his truly Christian sermon, had spoken admirably well of truly Christian love and charity, and of laying aside all thoughts of revenge, and had almost reconciled him to his greatest enemies the French; yet, since this was a war not of choice, but of necessity, for the defence of his kingdom, and undertaken to repel force with force; he must desire him, in another sermon, to defend the lawfulness of such a war as was defensive, and should be entered upon for the honour and safety of our country. Dean Colet readily obeyed the King's command; and, at the next opportunity, in the same grave and eloquent manner, treated of the grounds of a lawful war amongst Christian States and Princes, with such strength of reason and Scripture, that he not only confirmed the King and his Nobles in their intended enterprize, but greatly raised the spirits of the common people. And at the end of this last sermon, the King publicly thanked him before all the people; and said to such of his Nobility as stood about him, "Well, let every man chuse his own Doctor; but this shall be my Doctor before all others whatsoever." Upon which the King took a glass of wine, and drank to him very graciously, dismissing him with all the marks of affection, and promising him any favour at Court that he should ask for. And after this public honour done him by the King, his enemies, who, like wolves, stood gaping for a prey, slunk away full of shame, vexation, and disappointment. And the Dean, now secure from their envy and malice, went on in his constant course of preaching, and had always a full audience, as well of Courtiers as of citizens; who were all pleased, and even charmed, with his excellent way of preaching.

"But for all this, (says Knight), he seems never to have recovered the name of ORTHODOX amongst the Churchmen of his time, especially those who were called THE RELIGIOUS; who had a mighty ostentation in valuing themselves as such, and throwing the odious and dangerous name of HERETICS upon all who

who would not speak directly in their language." This custom of casting the imputation of HERESY upon all those who do not happen to think as we do, is far from being yet entirely rooted out, even of the PROTESTANT world. As to the Roman Catholics, when once the claim of their Church to infallibility is admitted, every man who disbelieves the doctrines of the Church must be, of course, an Heretic. This consequence is natural enough. But with what propriety, decency, or consistency, can any sect of Protestants whatever, (who all disclaim any pretensions to infallibility, at least in words), cast the imputation of Heresy on, and treat as Heretics, such of their fellow Protestants as may happen to entertain religious sentiments somewhat different from their own? Whenever they do act in this manner, however they may deny any pretensions to infallibility in words, they do certainly claim it in fact. If they are not infallible, how can they be certain that their own religious system is the only true one, and that of their opponents erroneous and heretical? Indeed, the whole difference, in this respect, between the Roman Catholics, and those Protestants who are so fond of anathematizing their brethren for a little difference of opinion, seems to be only this. The Church of Rome is *infallible*, and THEY are *always in the right*.

But, to return to Dr. Colet. Besides the Preferments which have been already mentioned, he was Rector of the Fraternity or Guild of JESUS in St. Paul's church, for which he procured new statutes; and also Chaplain, and Preacher in ordinary to King Henry VIII. and (if Erasmus was not mistaken) one of his Privy Council. When he came to about the fiftieth year of his age, having lost some of his most intimate friends by the sweating-sickness (*n*), which then raged violently in London, he began to grow weary of the world, and to be desirous of ending his days in peace and solitude. And for this purpose he built a convenient and handsome house within the precinct of the Charter-House, near Richmond-Palace, in Surrey. "He said, (says Erasmus), that he prepared this feat for his old age; that when broken with infirmities, and unable to discharge the duties of his function, he might here retire from the world, and with two or three-choice friends (among whom he used to reckon me) study and practise the true Christian Philosophy. But death prevented him. He was taken with the sweating-sickness, a disease peculiar to England; and relapsing into it a third time, he very hardly escaped with life; and from the relics of that distemper he fell into

(*n*) This sweating-sickness began at first in 1483, in Henry the Seventh's army, upon his landing at Milford-Haven, and spread itself in London from the 21st of September to the end of October. It returned here five times, and always in summer: first

in 1485, then in 1506, and afterwards in 1517, when it was so violent that it killed in the space of three hours; so that many of the Nobility died; and of the common people, in several towns, half often perished. It appeared the fourth time in 1528, and

into a consumption, that soon carried him off. One of the physicians judged it to be a dropsy; but, upon the opening of the body, no extraordinary symptom appeared, only that the capillary vessels of his liver had some pultular eruptions upon them. He was buried on the south-side of the choir of his own church of St. Paul's, with an humble monument (o) that he had several years before appointed and prepared, with only this inscription on it: JOANNES COLETUS."

This is the account given of the death of Dean Colet by Erasmus. Mr. Wood says, "When he discovered the sweating-sickness to grow upon him, he retired to the lodgings he had built in the monastery of the Carthusians at Sheen, near to Richmond in Surry; where, having spent the little remainder of his days in devotion, he surrendered up his last breath to him that first gave it, on the 16th of September, 1519. His body was afterwards carried to London; and, by the care of his old decrepid mother, it was buried in the cathedral church of St. Paul.

Some time before his death, which happened in the 53d year of his age, the Dean took care to settle the perpetuity of his school, and to direct the government of it by a book of statutes; which were drawn up and written with his own hand, and by him delivered to Mr. Lily on the 18th of June, 1518. He settled the number of scholars at 153. He made his will on the 22d of August, in the same year; appointing his mother, the Lady Christian Colet, Mr. William Garrard, and Mr. Nicholas Curleus, his executors. "And whereas others (says Dr. Knight) were taught to erect chantries, or praying offices, to fetch their souls out of purgatory, or at least to leave sums of money for Dir-

ges,

and proved mortal then in the space of six hours; many of the Courtiers died of it, and Henry VIII. himself was in danger. In 1529, and only then, it infested the Netherlands and Germany, in which last country it did much mischief. The last return of it in England was in 1551; when in Westminster it carried off one hundred and twenty in a day. At Shrewsbury particularly, where the learned Dr. Caius resided, it broke out in a very furious manner; and the description he gives of it is terrible, like the plague at Athens. Children, poor, and old people, were the least subject to it. Of others, scarce any escaped the attack, and most died. It continued seven months at Shrewsbury, in which time near a thousand perished of it. Even by

travelling into France or Flanders they did not escape; and what is stranger, even the Scotch were free, and abroad the English only affected, and foreigners scarce ever affected by it in England.

(o) An handsomer monument was afterwards set up for him by the company of mercers. But this was destroyed, with St. Paul's cathedral, in the general conflagration in 1666. About the year 1680, when the church was taken down, in order to be rebuilt, his leaden coffin was found enclosed in the wall, about two feet and an half above the floor. At the top of it was a leaden plate fastened, whereon was engraved the Dean's name, his dignity, benefactions, &c.

ges, Months-Minds, and Anniverfary-Obits, befides the foul-
feal, and oblations to a great many altars; he paffed over all
that unchristian vanity, and left no manner of legacies but to
truly Christian and charitable uſes; to reward his friends, to re-
lieve poor ſcholars, and to help to ſupport his old ſervants.”—
“ He left all his printed books to be divided amongſt poor ſtu-
dents; a diſtribution of fifty pounds amongſt his houſhold ſer-
vants; and ſeveral veſtments to ſeveral pariſh churches, without
mention of one prayer for his departed ſoul.”—“ None can
wonder (adds the Doctor) that the Dean, though he had ſo
great a patrimony, and ſuch good preferment, diſpoſed of little
by his will; if they conſider that his public works, as well as
private charities, had almoſt exhausted both his real and perſonal
eſtate. He told Eraſmus, in an epiſtle not long before his death,
that both did not afford ſufficient for his expences.”

We have already obſerved, that Dean Colet was, as to his per-
ſon, tall and comely, and his mien and carriage very graceful.
His learning was very conſiderable for the age he lived in; his
piety was exemplary; and his public ſpirit uncommon. He
was a very eloquent preacher, and had always a crowded audi-
tory (p). “ In all my life (ſays Eraſmus) I never ſaw a more
happy

(p) His preaching was popular, and adapted to vulgar capacities; but was, notwithstanding, agreeable to the better judgment of men of wit and learning, and was much admired by Sir Thomas More. About the year 1510, when the Dean had been ſome time in the country, Sir Thomas ſent him a Latin epiſtle, of which the following is a tranſlation:

“ As I was lately walking in Weſtmiſter-Hall, buſying myſelf about other men’s cauſes, I accidentally met your ſervant. At the firſt ſight of whom I very much rejoiced, both becauſe I have always had a great liking for him, and more eſpecially becauſe I thought he was not come to London without yourſelf. But when I had learned of him, that you were not come, nor yet coming for a conſiderable time, you cannot conceive how ſuddenly my great joy was turned into as great ſorrow. For what can be more grievous to me, than to be deprived of your moſt agreeable converſation, whole inſtructive counſel I have been uſed to enjoy, with whole pleaſing familiarity I was recreated, by whole weighty ſermons I have been often excited to devotion, and by whole

life and example I have been animated to the practice of virtue; and, finally, whole countenance and geſture uſed to give me extreme pleaſure? Wherefore, as I found myſelf exceedingly ſtrengthened while I enjoyed theſe advantages; ſo now do I perceive myſelf to languish, and to be much weakened, being deprived of them ſo long. For having heretofore, by following your footſteps, almoſt eſcaped out of the jaws of Hell; ſo now, like another Envydice, (though in a contrary manner, for ſhe was loſt there, becauſe Orpheus looked back upon her, but I am in the like danger, becauſe you do not look upon me), I fall back again, by a certain violence of neceſſity, into that obſcure darkneſs in which I was before. For what, I pray you, is there in this city, which hath a tendency to excite any man to live well; and which doth not rather, by a thouſand devices, draw him back, and with as many allurements endanger his being ſwallowed up in all manner of wickedneſs; though he himſelf may be otherwiſe well diſpoſed, and may accordingly endeavour to climb up the ſteep aſcents of virtue? Whereſoever a man goeth,
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happy wit ; and he chiefly delighted in the conversation of men of wit and genius, like himself. But even in such company, he chose principally to discourse of those subjects which favoured most of religion, and of eternal life. And if ever he indulged himself in any light and pleasant stories, he would still give some turn of Philosophy, and serious application to them.

“ He was a great lover of little children, admiring their pleasing simplicity and innocence. And he would often observe how our SAVIOUR had set them for our example, comparing them to the Angels above.——He was so averse to whatever was foul, or sordid, that he could not bear with any indecent or improper way of speaking. He loved to be neat and clean in his goods, furniture, entertainment, apparel, and books, and whatever belonged to him ; and yet he despised all state and magnificence. His dress was only black ; though it was then common for the higher Clergy to be clothed in purple. His upper garment was always of woollen cloth, and plain ; which, if the weather was cold, and required it, he lined with fur.

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can he find any thing but feigned love, and envenomed flattery ? In one place he shall find cruel hatred ; and in another hear of nothing but quarrels and law-suits. Whithersoever we cast our eyes, what can we see but victualling-houses, fishmongers, butchers, cooks, fishers, and fowlers, and other people of that sort, who furnish materials for luxury and gluttony, and set forward the service of the world, and the Prince thereof, the Devil ? Even the houses themselves, I know not how, do deprive us of a great part of the agreeable light, and will not suffer us to look up to Heaven freely ; so that the height of our buildings, and not the circle of our horizon, doth limit our prospect. For which reason I can the more easily forgive you, for delighting rather to remain in the country where you are ; where you meet with people of plain and simple manners, and void of that deceit, and of those arts, which are so common amongst citizens ; and where, whithersoever you turn your eyes, the smiling face of the earth pleases, the temperature of the air refreshes, and the clear prospect of the Heavens delights you. In short, you find nothing there, but the bounteous gifts of nature, and the footsteps of pri-

mitive innocence and simplicity. Yet I would not have you so taken up with these rural delights, as to be too long prevented from returning hither. For if the inconveniencies of the city do displease you, as they very reasonably may ; yet the country about your parish of Stepney, of which also you ought to have some care, will afford you similar pleasures to those which you now enjoy. And from thence you may occasionally come into the city, as into an inn, and where you may be greatly serviceable. In the country, the people are generally innocent, or at least are not greatly immersed in vice ; and therefore any physician may administer physic unto them. But in the city, the inhabitants are so numerous, and their moral disorders so many, and so inveterate by custom, that he must have great skill and abilities who can do them any service. Into the pulpit of St. Paul's there sometimes come those, who, I confess, promise very fair ; but when they have done, and seem to have made an excellent discourse, their lives are so little suitable to their preaching, that, upon the whole, they do harm rather than good. For they cannot persuade men, that those are proper persons to reform others, whose

"The Dean's table, which, for some time, under the name of hospitality, had approached too nearly to pomp and luxury, he afterwards reduced more within the bounds of moderation and frugality. And as it was his custom for many years to eat but one meal, that of dinner, he had always the evening to himself. When he dined privately with his own family, he had always some strangers for his guests; but the fewer, because his provision was frugal, though neat and genteel; and because the sittings were short, and the conversation such as could be agreeable only to the learned and the good. As soon as grace, before meat, was said, some boy, with a good voice, read distinctly a chapter out of one of St. Paul's Epistles, or out of the Proverbs of Solomon. And when he had done reading, the Dean would pitch upon some particular part of it, and from thence frame a subject matter of discourse; asking either the Learned, or such as were otherwise of good understanding, what was the meaning of this or that sentence or expression. And he would adapt and temper his discourse in such a manner, that though it was grave and serious, yet it never tired, or gave any distaste. Again, toward the end of dinner, when the company was rather satisfied than satiated, he would throw in another subject of discourse. And thus he dismissed his guests with a double repast, refreshed in their minds as well as bodies; so that they always went away better than they came. He greatly delighted in the conversation of his friends, which he would sometimes protract till very late in the evening; but all his discourse was either of learning, or religion. If he could not get an agreeable companion, (for every one did not please him), one of his servants read some part of the Holy Scriptures to him. In his journeys, he would sometimes make me (says Erasmus) his companion; and he was

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whose own lives stand so greatly in need of reformation. While they are themselves vicious, all their declamations against vice, serve only to incense the people the more against them. But if, as learned men say, he is the fittest man to cure any disorders, in whom those who are sick have the greatest confidence; can it be doubted, that you are the fittest man in all London to cure the maladies of its inhabitants, whom every one is willing to suffer to touch their wounds; and in whom what confidence every one hath, and how ready every one is to do what you prescribe, both you have heretofore sufficiently tried, and the earnest desire that every one now hath of your speedy return, doth sufficiently testify. Return, therefore, my dear

Colet; either for Stepmey's sake, which mourneth for your absence, as children for their mother; or else for London's sake, which is the place of your birth, and of which you ought to have no less regard than of your parents. And, finally, though this be the last motive, return for my sake, who have wholly dedicated myself to your directions, and do most earnestly long to see you. In the mean while, I pass my time with Grocyn, and Linacre, and Lily; the first being, as you know, the director of my life, in your absence; the second, the master of my studies; and the third, my most dear companion. Farewell, and continue to love me as heretofore."

London, October 22.

as easy and pleasant as any man living. Yet he always carried a book with him, and all his discourse was seasoned with religion."

"Though Colet was himself an excellent scholar, yet he did not approve that anxious and laborious sort of learning, that was to be gained by running through all sorts of books. He said this did but wear away the natural edge of the human understanding, and made men the less capable of a true Christian simplicity, and of genuine evangelical charity."—"He could not bear, that the standard of a good style should be taken from the exact rules of grammar; which, he would often affirm, did rather obstruct the purity of the language; which, he said, was not to be attained but by reading of the best and purest authors. He suffered by this opinion. For though, in consequence of his genius and his learning, he had attained a noble eloquence, and the perfect command of any subject, yet in writing he did sometimes fall under the censure of the critics. And it was for this reason, I presume, that he abstained from the writing of books. Though I wish (says Erasmus) that he had not abstained: for I should value the thoughts of such a man, in whatever language they were dressed."

Erasmus was at Louvain when he first heard of the death of Dean Colet, which he greatly lamented. In a letter to Bishop Fisher, he expresses himself thus: "I write (says he) now in tears for the decease of Colet; a loss and affliction more grievous to me, than any I have suffered these thirty years. I know his state is happy; he is now delivered from a troublesome and wicked world, and enjoys the presence of his Redeemer JESUS, whom he loved so affectionately in his life. But, in the name of the world, I cannot but lament the loss of such an admirable example of Christian piety, and such an excellent preacher of the Gospel of CHRIST. And, even in my own name, I must bewail the loss of a constant friend, and incomparable patron. All that I can do, is, to pay my just tribute to his name and memory, and not to suffer them to die, if any thing I write can live to posterity (q)."

It has been already observed, that Dean Colet's mother survived him, and was appointed by him one of his executors, though she was of an extreme old age. After the death of her husband, Sir Henry, she continued, at Stepney, living retiredly in that house which her son gave afterwards for the safe abode of the master of St. Paul's school, in the time of any pestilential sickness. The greatest pleasure she enjoyed there, was to have the company of her son, and to entertain those learned friends

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(q) From Erasmus's epistle to materials of all the accounts of Dean Jodocus Jonas, Rector of the Uni- Colet's life are taken.
versity of Erford, the most valuable

which he brought along with him ; especially Erasmus, whose conversation she delighted in, and of whom she used to talk in his absence, with a particular air of mirth, and pleasant freedom of speech. So her son told Erasmus, in a letter from that country-house, in 1516. But she there out-lived all her comfort in this world, this her son ; which yet she bore in so Christian a manner, and with so much patience, and resignation to the will of GOD, that Erasmus, many years after, cited her for an uncommon example of patience and submission under the loss of children, when he comforted his friend Amerbach upon the loss of his little daughter. " I knew in England (says Erasmus) the mother of John Colet, a matron of singular piety. She had by the same husband eleven sons and eleven daughters ; all which were snatched away from her, except her eldest son ; and she lost her husband far advanced in years. She herself being come to her ninetieth year, looked so smooth, and was so chearful, that you would think she had never shed a tear, nor brought a child into the world ; and, if I mistake not, she survived her son, Dean Colet. Now that which supplied a woman with such a degree of fortitude, was not learning, but piety towards GOD."

Dean Colet drew up some rudiments of grammar, with an abridgment of the principles of religion, and published them for the standing use and service of St. Paul's school, under the following title: *RUDIMENTA GRAMMATICÆ A JOHANNES COLETO, DECANO ECCLESIAE SANCTI PAULI LONDON. IN USUM SCHOLÆ AB IPSO INSTITUTÆ.* Which little manual, called *PAUL'S ACCIDENCE*, the Dean dedicated to the master of his school, William Lily, in a short elegant Latin epistle, dated from his own house the first of August, 1510.

He also drew up, for the use of his school, another little tract of *THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE EIGHT PARTS OF SPEECH* ; and which was printed at Antwerp in 1530, under the title of, *ABSOLUTISSIMUS DE OCTO ORATIONIS PARTIUM CONSTRUCTIONE LIBELLUS.* This, with some alterations, and great additions, now makes up the *Syntax* in Lily's common grammar. The Dean sent it to Mr. Lily, with an ingenious and affectionate epistle, dated from his own house in the year 1513. " Methinks, (says he), my dear Lily, I bear the same affection to my new school, that a parent does to his only son ; to whom he is willing not only to make over his whole estate, but is desirous even to impart his own bowels also. And as the father thinks it to little purpose to have begotten a son, unless by diligent education he raises him up into a good and useful man ; so I shall not think it sufficient that I have raised this school, and have conveyed my whole estate to it, even during my own life and health, unless I likewise take all possible care to nurture it in good letters, and Christian manners, and bring it to some degree of maturity

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“ and perfection. For this reason, I send you this small treatise of THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE EIGHT PARTS OF SPEECH; small indeed in itself, but such as will afford no small advantage to our scholars, if you diligently teach and explain it. You know Horace was pleased with BREVITY in the way of teaching; and I very much approve of his opinion in that matter. If, in the reading of the classic authors, any notable examples to these rules shall offer themselves, it will be your part to mark them, as they shall occur.”

The Dean also wrote, MONITION TO A GODLY LIFE, which was printed at London in 1534, and 1563. There have been also published under his name, DAILY DEVOTIONS; OR THE CHRISTIAN'S MORNING AND EVENING SACRIFICE, &c. This work has been several times printed, but is said not to be all of Colet's composition. Many of his epistles to Erasmus are printed among Erasmus's epistles, and some at the end of Knight's life of the Dean. There are also still remaining in manuscript, some pieces of Colet's, particularly *Commentarii in epistolas D. Pauli ad Romanos & Corinthios*; i. e. Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians. And also, *An analytical Commentary on the Apostolical Epistles*. It is said, that these pieces of the Dean were found after his death in a very obscure corner of his study, as if he had designed they should lie buried in oblivion; and were written in such a manner, as if intended to be understood by no body but himself. With regard to sermons, he wrote but few; for he generally preached without notes.

We have no other works of the Dean to give any account of, except his Latin sermon preached before the Convocation, in 1511. This was printed the same year by Richard Pynson, in three sheets, 4to. under the following title: *Oratio habita a Doctore Joanne Colet, Decano Sancti Pauli, ad Clerum in Convocatione, anno 1511 (r)*. We shall lay before the reader some account of, and extracts from, this bold, honest, and spirited attack, upon the corruptions of the Church and Clergy of that age (s).

The Dean introduced his discourse in this manner: “ You are this day assembled together, Reverend Fathers and brethren, to enter into council. What will be the result of your consultations, and of what matters you will treat, we are yet unacquainted. But we wish that, remembering your name and your profession, you would attend to the reformation of ecclesiastical affairs. For never was there a greater need for it; never did the state of the Church more require
“ your

(r) Dr. Knight reprinted this, together with an old English translation of it, supposed to have been done by the Dean himself, in the appendix to his life of Colet.

(s) In the extracts which we

have given from this sermon, we have not adhered to the old English translation, but have endeavoured to give the sense of the original Latin in more modern English.

“ your inspection and inquiry. The spouse of CHRIST, the Church, who ought to be without spot or wrinkle, is become foul and deformed; as Isaiah says, *The faithful city is become an harlot*; and in the words of Jeremiah, *She hath played the whore with many lovers*; whereby she hath conceived many seeds of iniquity, and every day bringeth forth the foulest fruit. Wherefore I now warn you, Reverend Fathers, that you employ your whole thoughts and attention upon the reformation of the Church.”

Colet then made some apology for his undertaking to preach before so learned and respectable a body; and told them that, conscious of his own incapacity, he did it unwillingly, and only in obedience to the command of the Archbishop. He afterwards took for his text, the second verse of the twelfth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. *Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your minds, that ye may prove what is the good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God.* “ This (said the Dean) the Apostle wrote to all Christians, but chiefly to Priests and Bishops. For they are the lights of the world; and to them said our SAVIOUR, *Ye are the light of the world*; and also, *If the light that is in you be darkness, how great is that darkness!* THAT IS, If Priests and Bishops (who ought to be lights to others) run in the dark ways of the world, how great then shall be the darkness of the common people? Wherefore St. Paul says chiefly to Priests and Bishops, *Be ye not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed, &c.*”

Colet then proceeded to explain what was meant by being conformed to this world, under four heads; Devilish Pride, Carnal Lusts, Worldly Covetousness, and Secular Business. “ These (said the Dean) are in the world, as St. John witnesseth, who says, that *all that is in the world is either the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, or the pride of life.* And these same things do now so reign in the Church, and amongst ecclesiastical persons, that we may in a manner truly say, All that is in the Church is either the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, or the pride of life.”

He then proceeded more particularly to treat of DEVILISH PRIDE, OR THE PRIDE OF LIFE. “ In these days (said he) how much greediness, and earnest desire of honour and of dignity, is seen among Churchmen! How do they run, till they are out of breath, from benefice to benefice, from the less to the greater, and from the lower to the higher! Who is there that does not see this? and who can see it, without grief? Most of those who have obtained these dignities in the Church, do also carry their heads in such an high and lofty manner, that they seem not to be put into an humble Bishopric of CHRIST, but rather into the high Lordship and power of this world. Not knowing, or not remembering, what CHRIST, the Prince of meekness, said to his disciples
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“ whom he called to be Bishops of his Church. *The Princes of the Gentiles* (said he) *exercise dominion over them, and those that are great exercise authority upon them: But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant, &c.* By which words our SAVIOUR plainly teaches, that any dignity in his Church should be no other than a meek service.”

He then treated of CARNAL LUSTS, OF CONCUPISCENCE. Hath not this vice (said he) grown and increased in the Church to such a degree, that the generality of Ecclesiastics, in this age, mind nothing but what delights and pleases their senses? They give themselves up to feasting and banquettings, to vain and idle discourse, to foolish jests, to sports, and to hunting and hawking; and, in short, are immersed in the pleasures of this world, and diligent only in the indulgence of their sensuality and voluptuousness.”

In treating of COVETOUSNESS, which St. John, he observes, calls the LUST OF THE EYES, and St. Paul IDOLATRY, he says, “ This abominable pestilence hath in such a manner entered into the minds of almost all Priests, and hath so blinded the eyes of the mind, that we can now see nothing, except that only which seems likely to produce us some gain. In these days, what is it that we seek for in the Church, except benefices, and high promotions? And when we have obtained those promotions, what do we regard, but the tythes and tithes? Nor do we care how many, or how considerable the benefices are which we take, provided they be but of a great value. Oh AVARICE! COVETOUSNESS! With the utmost truth did the Apostle Paul stile thee, THE ROOT OF ALL EVIL. For from thee cometh this heaping of benefice upon benefice. Thou art the cause that such great pensions are assigned, from many benefices resigned. Thou occasionest so many prosecutions for tythes, for offerings, for mortuaries, and for dilapidations, by the right and title of the Church; and for all which we contend with as much eagerness as for our lives. Oh Covetousness! thou art the cause that the visitations of Bishops are so chargeable. From thee proceeds the corruption of Courts, and those new and daily inventions, with which the common people are so persecuted. And from thee comes the haughtiness and insolence of officials. Oh Covetousness! mother of all iniquity! thou causest the earnest desire of ordinaries to extend their jurisdictions. Of thee comes the great abuses in the probate of wills, and the sequestration of fruits. Of thee the rigorous and superstitious observance of all those Canons which bring in profit to the Court; and the shameful neglect of all others that tend only to the reformation of manners.”

He then proceeded to treat of SECULAR BUSINESS, “ In which (said he) Priests and Bishops do in these days so wholly employ

“ employ their time, that they seem the servants of men, rather than of GOD, and more the servants of this world, than of JESUS CHRIST.”——“ But our warfare should be to pray with fervency and devotion, to read and study the Scriptures with diligence, to preach the word of GOD with sincerity, and to administer the Holy Sacraments rightly, &c.” He then took notice of the many evils which were occasioned to the Church, by the Clergy being so much engaged in temporal business.

“ In this age (said he) we, the Clergy, feel very sensibly, and are alarmed at, the opposition which we receive from the Laity; but, alas! their opposition is abundantly less injurious to us, than the opposition which there is, in our own vicious and corrupt lives, to the laws both of GOD and CHRIST.——We are also troubled in these days with Heretics; but no Heresies are so pernicious to us, and to the people, as the wicked lives of Priests; which, if we may believe St. Bernard, is, of all others, the worst kind of Heresy.”

He afterwards proceeded to address himself particularly to the Bishops, in the following terms: “ The reformation and restoration of the state of the Church (said he) ought to begin from you Fathers, and be followed by us your Priests, and by all the Clergy. You are the heads, you are an example of living unto us; upon you we look, as the marks appointed for our direction; and in you, and in your lives, we desire to read, as in living books, how, and in what manner, we ought to live.”

“ Now the proper method of reforming the Church will be, not by making of new laws, for they are already sufficiently numerous;—but by taking care that those which are already made, be well kept, and put into execution. And, for this purpose, let those laws and canons of the Church which are already made, and which are more immediately calculated for the promotion and encouragement of virtue, and for the prevention and discouragement of vice, be now publicly read in this assembly.

“ In the first place, let those canons be read, which admonish you, Fathers, not to lay your hands suddenly upon any man, nor to be too easy in admitting persons into holy orders. It is neglect in this respect which occasions our having in the Church such a multitude of Priests without learning, and without piety. In my judgment, it is not enough for a Priest that he be able to construe a collect, to propose a question, or to answer a sophism; but it is much more necessary that he should be of a pious and virtuous life, of approved morals, of a competent skill in the Sacred Writings, and some knowledge of the Sacraments; and, above all things, that he should have the fear of GOD, and the love of an heavenly life.

“ Let

“ Let those Canons be recited, which command the benefices
“ of the Church to be given to the most worthy ; and which
“ direct that ecclesiastical promotions should be made according
“ to virtue and merit, and not by personal favour, or affection,
“ or respect of persons. But, by the observation of a contrary
“ practice, it comes to pass in these days, that boys, and fools,
“ and wicked persons, rule and preside in the Church, instead
“ of grave, and wise, and good men.

“ Rehearse the Canons against Simony, and the procuring of
“ benefices by corrupt means ; a prevailing infection, that eats
“ like a canker in the minds of the Clergy, and prostitutes
“ them to the most mercenary and servile means of getting pre-
“ ferment. Rehearse the Canons against *non-residence*. From
“ this many evils arise in the Church ; those who have bene-
“ fices in it, leaving the discharge of the duties of their func-
“ tion to ignorant and unqualified Curates, who are often also
“ wicked men, and such as have nothing in view but filthy
“ lucre.”

“ Let all Canons be recited that concern the lives of the
“ Bishops and Clergy, that forbid every man in holy orders to
“ be either a merchant, an usurer, a hunter, a gamester, or a
“ soldier ; and those which prohibit Clergymen from frequent-
“ ing taverns, and keeping company with suspected women ;
“ and also those which command sobriety and moderation in
“ apparel, and in the adornment of the body.”

“ Above all, Reverend Fathers and Bishops, let those Canons
“ be recited which concern yourselves ; particularly those
“ which relate to your fair and canonical election in the chap-
“ ters of the respective cathedral churches. For the neglect
“ of these Canons hath been the cause that Bishops have
“ been disposed of more out of favour to men, than any re-
“ spect to the grace of GOD ; so that we have Bishops little
“ inclined to any thing spiritual, more disposed to earthly than
“ to heavenly things, and who have more of the spirit of this
“ world, than of the spirit of CHRIST.”

“ Let those Canons be recited which relate to the residence
“ of Bishops within their respective dioceses ; which direct that
“ they should zealously endeavour to promote the salvation of
“ men's souls ; that they should sow the seed of the word of
“ GOD ; that they should appear in their own cathedrals, espe-
“ cially on the greater festivals ; that they should sometimes of-
“ ficiate in the offices of public worship in their own persons ;
“ that they should hear the petitions and pleas of the poor,
“ support the fatherless and the widow, and exercise themselves
“ in works of piety and benevolence.”

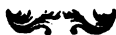
“ Rehearse the Canons for a proper distribution of the goods
“ of the Church ; which direct that they shall not be squan-
“ dered away in expensive buildings, nor in sumptuous apparel,
“ nor in extravagant feastings, luxury, and wantonness, nor in

“ the enrichment of relations, nor in the feasting of hounds ;
 “ but in things profitable and necessary for the Church.

“ When these several Canons have been recited, and such
 “ others as relate to the reformation of manners, nothing will
 “ then be wanting but a due and impartial execution of them ;
 “ that, as we have laws, our lives may be conformable to them.
 “ And for these things, with all reverence, I call chiefly upon
 “ you, Fathers ; for the execution of the Canons, and the ob-
 “ servation of the Constitutions, should begin with you ; by
 “ which we shall be taught to imitate your example. — And
 “ when once the Clergy are thus reformed, we may then with
 “ propriety proceed to the reformation of the Laity. — The
 “ people will soon be good, if the Priests are so. Our good
 “ and virtuous lives will teach them with more efficacy, than all
 “ our sermons and discourses. Our piety and virtue will ope-
 “ rate upon them more powerfully and effectually, and will even
 “ sooner compel them to come into the right way, than all your
 “ suspensions, excommunications, and cursings, and all the
 “ censures and terrors of the Church.”

At the close of his sermon, the Dean made some apology for
 the freedom he had taken. “ I have mentioned such things,
 “ (said he), Reverend Fathers and brethren, as I thought most
 “ proper with relation to the reformation of the state of the
 “ Church. And I trust, from your goodness and candour, that
 “ what I have said will be taken in good part. If I have in any
 “ thing exceeded the bounds of moderation, or spoken with too
 “ much warmth, I must beg you will forgive a man, who hath
 “ spoken nothing but from the fervency of his zeal, and his
 “ grief for the deplorable situation of the Church. And, I
 “ hope, you will attend to the matter of what hath been said,
 “ notwithstanding the weakness or incoherency of the speaker.
 “ Consider the sad state in which the Church now is, and exert
 “ your utmost endeavours for its reformation. Suffer not, Re-
 “ verend Fathers, suffer not this great assembly to meet in vain.
 “ Let not this synod break up again, without having answered
 “ any end or purpose by its meeting. You have, indeed, as-
 “ sembled together often ; but, if I may be allowed to speak
 “ freely, I have never yet seen, from the effects of these assem-
 “ blies, what advantage the Church hath derived from them.”

We have dwelt the longer upon this remarkable sermon, be-
 cause it is not very common, and, we believe, not very generally
 known ; and it contains so much good sense, honesty, and
 manly freedom, that the generality of our readers will not, we
 presume, be displeased with the length of our quotations.



The Life of Sir ANTHONY FITZHERBERT, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

THIS learned Judge was the younger son of Ralph Fitzherbert, Esq; of Norbury in the county of Derby. After he had received the rudiments of his education in the country, he was sent to the University of Oxford, from whence he was removed to one of the Inns of Court. He applied himself with great diligence to the study of the law; and making a considerable proficiency in it, became a very eminent Lawyer. In 1511, being the third year of the reign of King Henry VIII. he was called to the degree of Serjeant at law; and, in 1516, he received the honour of Knighthood. He continued to distinguish himself in his profession, by his great abilities, application and integrity; and in 1517, he was appointed one of the King's Serjeants at law. About two years after this, he published his *Grand Abridgment*; and some time after, several other learned pieces. And his reputation continuing to increase, in Easter-term, 1523, the fifteenth year of the reign of Henry VIII. he was appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas. And in this honourable station he spent the remainder of his life (1), discharging the important duties of his office with such eminent ability, as to be considered as the oracle of law in his own time; and also with such uprightness and integrity, as gained him universal esteem and respect.

We have but few particulars of the life of this learned Judge. It is said, that he openly opposed Cardinal Wolsey, when he was at the height of his power, without any regard to the consequences. And we are also told, that when he lay upon his death-bed, foreseeing the changes which were like to happen in the Church, as well as in the State, he pressed his children in very strong terms to promise him solemnly, neither to accept grants, nor to make purchases of Abbey-lands. And they accordingly promised him, it is said, that they would not; and religiously adhered to their promise, though very much to their own disadvantage.

Sir Anthony Fitzherbert died, in an advanced age, very deservedly regretted, on the 27th of May, 1538; and was interred

(1) Mr. Camden, by mistake, England. See Biographia Britannica, styled him Lord Chief Justice of Vol. III. P. 1935, 1937.

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in his own parish church of Norbury. He left behind him a numerous posterity; and as he became, by the death of his elder brother, possessed of the family estate, he was in a condition to provide for them in a very plentiful manner. — The works of this learned Judge were as follows :

I. “ The Grand Abridgment, collected by that most Reverend Judge, Mr. Anthony Fitzherbert, lately conferred with his own manuscript, corrected by himself, &c.” This work was first printed upon a fine royal paper, and in a character resembling antient writing, in 1519. There have been several editions of it since, particularly one in 1557, and one in 1665. Sir Edward Coke mentions our author, and this work of his, in many places, and always with much respect. Indeed, this valuable abridgement of the Common Law was extremely well received on its first publication, and has ever since been in high esteem among those of that profession who were the best qualified to judge of its merit.

II. “ The Office and authority of Justices of peace, compiled and extracted out of the old books, as well of the Common Law, as of the Statutes.” This was printed at London in 1538, in 12mo, part in French, and part in English, without the author’s name, and several times afterwards. It was held a very useful book for that time, being the first upon the subject that was ever published. It was afterwards augmented by Richard Crompton, Esq; and printed in 4to at least seven times during his life; and before Serjeant Crompton published it with additions, it had been translated and printed several times in English.

III. “ The office of Sheriffs, Bailiffs of liberties, Escheators, Constables, Coroners, &c.” Lond. 1538, 4to. This has also been annexed by Serjeant Crompton to his office and authority of Justices of the peace, and has been frequently printed with it.

IV. “ Of the diversity of Courts.” This was written by him in the twenty-first year of Henry VIII. but without the author’s name. It was originally written in French, but was translated into English by W. H. of Gray’s Inn, and added by him to Andrew Horne’s *Mirrouir of Justices*.

V. “ The new *Natura Brevium*.” London, 1534. This work was first written in French, and several times printed in that language; but it was afterwards translated into English, and often published with very accurate tables, having always been in very high esteem. The nature and design of this work, as well as the reason of its being styled the new *Natura Brevium*, will best appear from the author’s poem to the work.

“ In every art and science (says he) there are certain rules and foundations, to which a man ought to give credit, and which he cannot deny. In like manner, there are divers maxims and fundamentals in the knowledge of the Common

“ Laws

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“ Laws of the land, which a man ought to believe very necessary for those who will understand the same, especially at the beginning of their studies: for, upon those fundamentals, the whole law doth depend. For which purpose, in time past, there was composed a very profitable book, called THE REGISTER, which doth contain sundry principles, by which he must be well instructed who would study the law. And also for that purpose was there composed, by a learned man, a book called *Natura Brevium*, which book doth declare and set forth the diversities and natures of many original writs, with their process, which book helped much to the understanding not only of THE REGISTER, but also of the law of the land; but because of late time that book hath been translated into the English tongue, and many things are therein, which are not according to the law of the land; and many other things are omitted, which are very profitable and necessary for the understanding of the law, for that cause is this work composed and published.”

Lord Chief Justice Coke says of this work of Judge Fitzherbert's, that it is an exact work, and exquisitely penned.

VI. “ Of the surveying of lands.” Printed in 1539, and 1567.

VII. “ The Book of Husbandry, very profitable and necessary for all persons.” Printed in 1534, and several times after in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth. It is said in an advertisement to the reader, prefixed to this book, that it was written by one Anthony Fitzherbert, who had been forty years an husbandman: from whence many have concluded that this could not be our Judge. But in the preface to his book “ of the surveying of lands,” he mentions his book of AGRICULTURE; and in the advertisement prefixed to the same book, it is expressly said, that the author of that treatise of Surveying, was the author likewise of the book concerning the office of a Justice of the peace. From whence it is inferred, that both those books were written by Judge Fitzherbert; who, perhaps, in those seasons which allowed him leisure to go into the country, might apply himself as vigorously to husbandry in the country, as he did to the study of the law when in town.

We have already observed, that Sir Anthony Fitzherbert left a numerous posterity. Of two of his grandsons we will give some account.

THOMAS FITZHERBERT was the son of William Fitzherbert, fourth son to the Judge, and was born in the county of Stafford, in the year 1552. After having been initiated in grammar learning, he was sent to the University of Oxford in 1568. But having been before chiefly trained up in the Roman Catholic religion, the College grew disagreeable to him. For though he would sometimes hear a sermon, which he was permitted to do by an old Popish priest, who lived privately in Oxford.

ford, and to whom he would often recur for religious instruction, yet he would seldom go to prayers, for which he was often admonished by the Sub-Rector of his house. At length, seeming so be wearied with the Heresy of the times, as he called it, he withdrew without a degree to his patrimony; where also refusing to go to his parish church, he was imprisoned about the year 1572, in the fifteenth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign. But Mr. Fitzherbert being soon after set at liberty, he became still more zealous for his religion, defending it against the Protestant Ministers, and maintaining publicly, that Catholics ought not to go to Protestant churches; for which being likely to suffer, he withdrew, and lived concealed. In 1580, when Campanian and Parsons the Jesuit came into England, he went to London, found them out, and supplied them liberally. Whereupon bringing himself into a *Præmunire*, and foreseeing great dangers, he went a voluntary exile into France, in the year 1582, where he in vain solicited the cause of Mary Queen of Scots. After the death of that unhappy Princess, and the loss of his own wife, Mr. Fitzherbert left France, and repaired to Madrid, in order to implore the protection of Philip II. to whom most of the English exiles resorted. But upon the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in 1588, he left Spain, and accompanied the Duke of Feria to the city of Milan in Italy. Fitzherbert continued some time at Milan, and from thence went to Rome. During his stay there, he composed several books, and amongst the rest two treatises against the maxims of Machiavel, which gained him much reputation, both among Protestants and Papists. He entered into the society of JESUS in 1614, and received Priests orders about the same year. After which he speedily removed into Flanders, to preside over the mission there, and continued at Brussels about two years. The considerable abilities and learning which he possessed, together with the high esteem which he had gained by his prudent behaviour at Brussels, procured him the government, with the title of Rector, of the English College at Rome. He exercised this office for twenty-two years with great credit, during which time he is said to have been often named for a Cardinal's hat; and which, it is supposed, he might easily have obtained, if he had been desirous of it. He died in 1640, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and was interred in the chapel belonging to the English College. He wrote many treatises in defence of the Romish Church.

NICHOLAS FITZHERBERT was another grandson of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's, and a great sufferer likewise on account of his zealous attachment to Popery. He was the son of John Fitzherbert, the Judge's second son. In his youth he was a student in Exeter College; and about 1572, left his native country, parents, and patrimony, in consequence of his religion, and went beyond the sea as a voluntary exile. At first he settled at Bononia in Italy, in order to acquire the knowledge of the Ci-

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vil Law, and continued there till 1580. Not long after, he went to Rome, and in the year 1587, began to live in the family of William Alan, the Cardinal of England, and continued with him till the time of his death, being then accounted eminent for his knowledge in the laws and polite literature. He published several pieces ; and wrote the life of his patron, Cardinal Alan ; but that, for political reasons, was never published. Mr. Fitzherbert was unfortunately drowned some time in the year 1612, in a journey he made from Rome, being then supposed to be about sixty-three years of age.



The Life of JAMES BEATON, Archbishop of St. ANDREWS.

THIS famous Prelate was descended from an antient and honourable family, that came originally from France, but which had been long settled in Scotland. His father was John Beaton, of Balfour, and his mother Mary, daughter to Sir David Boswell of Blamuto. He was a younger son, and therefore very early intended for the Church, and with that view kept to his studies. He had great natural talents, which he improved by the acquisition of the best learning which could be attained, at that time, in his country.

He had considerable advantages at his first setting out in the world. His brother, Sir David Beaton of Criegh, who was a man of learning and ability, was also a great Courtier, and so much beloved by his master, King James IV. that he raised him to the honour of being Comptroller of his Household, and, in 1502, made him Treasurer of Scotland. But besides the assistance derived to James Beaton, from the interest of his brother Sir David, he was also in great credit with the powerful House of Douglas; from whom he received his first preferment, which was that of the Provostship of Bothwell, and which was given him by George Douglas, Earl of Angus. Before the Reformation, there were in Scotland many collegiate churches of secular Priests, and he who presided over these Canons was styled Provost. The church of Bothwell was one of these.

This preferment was conferred upon him in 1503. But the next year he was promoted to the rich and honourable preferment of Abbot of Dumferling, which Abbacy became void by the death of James Stuart, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Duke of Ross, and Chancellor of Scotland. This was a strong evidence of the King's favour; but, in 1505, he received a still greater. His brother, Sir David Beaton, died that year; upon which the King honoured him with the staff of High-Treasurer in the room of his brother; and he began to be considered as one of the chief Ministers of the King his master.

In 1508, he was promoted to the Bishopric of Galloway, on the death of Bishop Vaus; and before he had sat a full year in that See, he was removed to the Archbishopric of Glasgow, vacant by the death of Dr. Blackader, upon which he resigned the Treasurer's staff in 1509. He is supposed to have taken this step with a view to be more at leisure to mind the government of his

his diocese; for we are told, that while he continued at Glasgow, he attended the duties of his function with great diligence. And he also enclosed his episcopal palace in Glasgow with a magnificent stone wall, of aissler work, towards the east, south, and west, with a bastion on one corner, and a tower on the other, fronting the high street, whereon are fixed in different places his coat of arms. He also laid out a considerable sum of money in building and repairing of bridges that were gone to decay, at different places within the Regality, and about the city of Glasgow.

In 1513, King James IV. of Scotland having imprudently entered into a war with England, was slain in the battle of Flodden-field; and with him fell the flower of his Nobility, and amongst them Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Chancellor of Scotland, his natural son. By this fatal blow the kingdom was thrown into the utmost confusion. The Queen, Margaret, was declared Regent of the kingdom by the late King's will; and such of the Nobility as survived the battle of Flodden-field, had submitted to her authority; but in consequence of an hasty and indecent marriage with the Earl of Angus, she was deprived of her Regency. The Nobility, however, could not agree about this; and the Clergy, instead of interposing their good offices, and endeavouring to promote peace in the kingdom, were all together by the ears about the Archbishopric of St. Andrews. So that, for the re-establishment of the public tranquillity, it was found necessary to send for John Stuart, Duke of Albany, the young King's great uncle, from France, and to declare him Regent of the kingdom.

Amongst those who were particularly distinguished by the new Regent's favour, was Archbishop Beaton. He raised him to the office of High Chancellor; and gave him for the support of his dignity the two rich abbies of Killwinning and Arbroth, which he held with his Archbishopric *IN COMMENDUM*. While Archbishop Beaton resided at Glasgow, in 1515, the famous Dr. Gawin Douglas, uncle to the Earl of Angus, was promoted to the See of Dunkeld, which being a suffragan to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Dr. Douglas went thither to be consecrated. And Beaton, to shew how much he respected the new Bishop and his family, entertained him and all his attendants with great magnificence and splendor, and defrayed the whole expence of his consecration. But, notwithstanding all this, and though he had been first patronised by the family of Douglas, yet the favours which he had received from the Regent, the Duke of Albany, induced Archbishop Beaton to join his party, in opposition to that of the Douglas family.

In 1517, the Duke of Albany went over into France; upon which he appointed, amongst other great men, Archbishop Beaton to be one of the Governors of Scotland in his absence. And, with a view of preventing disputes amongst them, they had dis-

several provinces assigned them. But this did not answer the purpose; for during the Agent's absence, such confusions prevailed in the land, and such mutual enmity, rapine, and violence, that the great families, that the kingdom was, for a time, in the utmost disorder. At length it was proposed, that the reins of government into the hands of the Nobles, a Nobleman nearly allied in blood to the King. In his instance, a convention of estates was summoned at Edinburgh, on the 20th of April, 1520.

Appointed, the Earl of Arran, with many of the nobles, assembled together in Archbishop Beaton's house, at the Black-frier-wynde; where, previous to the sitting of the convention, they resolved to apprehend the Earl of Angus, alleging that his power was so great, that whilst he remained in the country, they could not have a free Parliament. But as the Earl was informed of this design, he sent his uncle, Bishop Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, to Archbishop Beaton, the Chancellor, offering that if he had failed in any part of his duty, the rest of the Lords, he would most willingly submit himself to the censure of the convention, which was then going to meet. Bishop Douglas himself earnestly besought the Chancellor, that he would use his best endeavours with his friends to prevent the effusion of blood. He consented, though he was as deep in the design, and had "very episcopally" says the Earl, to be present at it, and to assist them. He endeavoured to excuse himself as being the blame wholly upon the Earl of Angus, who was highly offended with the Earl of Arran's accounts; and after he had reckoned up the reasons, he said that for those reasons Arran would have been in the end concluded with saying, "There is no help! Upon my conscience, I cannot help it." In this asseveration, Beaton smote his breast with his hand, and made the iron plates of the coat of mail under his arm to return a rattling sound (a); which Bishop Douglas perceived, he gave his brother Prelate this just reprimand. "How now, my Lord, methinks your conscience clatters: We are Catholics, it is not lawful for us to put on armour, or bear arms."

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(a) Not the author of the History of England, &c. but Mr. David Hume of Godscroft, author of the history of the house and race of Douglas.—See that Work, Edit. Edinb. 1742, Vol. II. P. 76. and Biographia Britannica, Vol. I. P. 471.

(a) "In the heat of his asseveration, he beat his breast with his hand, and his conscience lay well covered with a coat of mail; a secret hid

under his feton or cassock. And now being knocked upon, it answered with a rattling noise which the plates of iron did yield, bearing witness against him how little he cared for that inward witness, which belied him, when he protested he was censorious to party matters, being indeed thus preparing for war."—Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, Vol. II. P. 76, 77.

"It is inconsistent with our character." However, the good Bishop Douglas, finding he could no way prevail with them, in behalf of the Earl of Angus, retired. But as to Archbishop Beaton, he, according to Buchanan, instead of being "a promoter of peace, flew armed up and down, like a firebrand of sedition."

As in this situation of affairs, no accommodation could be brought about between the two parties, a skirmish ensued, in which the party of the Earl of Angus, who was much beloved in Edinburgh, had the advantage. And the martial Archbishop Beaton, when he saw the day was lost, and his friends defeated, fled for sanctuary to the Black-friars church, and was there taken out from behind the altar, and his rochet torn off him. And he would certainly have been slain, if Bishop Gawin Douglas had not, from a regard to his character, interceded for him, and saved his life. Though Beaton, by his after behaviour, appears not to have been very grateful to Douglas for this important service (w).

The following year, 1521, Archbishop Beaton's affairs grew somewhat more prosperous. The Duke of Albany, the Regent, arrived from France, who, for the present, introduced some kind of order in the government, and obliged the Earl of Angus to consent, for the sake of the public peace, to remain for a year in France. And some time after this died Dr. Andrew Forman, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Primate of Scotland. This opened a fair path to Beaton to set himself at the head of the Scottish Church: and accordingly he found means to succeed in his design, being made Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1523. He did not, however, obtain this preferment without a very considerable struggle; though he was favoured by the Regent, and by the young King, who was very much governed by the Archbishop's nephew, David Beaton; in whose favour the new Primate, soon after his promotion, resigned the rich abbey of Arbroth, or Aberbrothock.

The same year the Duke of Albany returned again into France. Soon after which his authority, as Regent, was taken away by an Act of Parliament; for the Earl of Angus returning into Scotland, obtained such a degree of influence in the

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(w) It is said that Beaton having an eye upon the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, upon the death of Archbishop Forman, (who was promoted to that See after the death of Alexander), was afraid of no competitor so much as Bishop Douglas; and, therefore, with a view of being rid of him, he wrote a letter to the King of Denmark, in which he represented him as a person disaffected to the

Government, and going about to infringe the privileges granted to the Scottish nation by the Holy See, endeavouring to be preferred to the Archbishopric by the interest of the Emperor and the King of England, then public enemies to Scotland; and therefore he intreated the King, that he would write to his Ministers at Rome, to inform his Holiness that the Bishop was under a sentence of banishment

public affairs of the kingdom, that all things were directed by him and his adherents. Matters being in this situation, Archbishop Beaton, for the present, joined himself to the party of the Earl of Angus; though this, as Hume says, was rather out of fear than good-will. And, therefore, when a faction was formed against Angus, he fell off from that Nobleman's party. Upon which Angus, to be revenged of him, brought the King to the Archbishop's house at Edinburgh, and seized upon his household goods for his own use. For there was so much anarchy and confusion in the Scottish government in these times, that acts of violence and oppression were frequently practised by every party, when they happened to gain the ascendant.

In 1526, the King, James V. was declared of full age, though he was only eighteen, and the administration placed entirely in the hands of the Earl of Angus. And one of the first steps which were taken, after this alteration in the government, was the appointment of a new Privy Council, from which Archbishop Beaton was excluded; and soon after the Great Seal was taken from him, and, in 1527, the Earl of Angus appointed High Chancellor in his room. Many attempts were, however, made, to dispossess the Earl of Angus of his power, particularly by the Earl of Lennox; but the latter Nobleman was killed in a

skirmish

banishment because of his demerits, and thereby put a stop to his ambitious designs.

Buchanan informs us, that the Regent, the Duke of Albany, caused the Pope to call over Bishop Douglas, to purge himself there from some crimes which were imputed to him. But the year after, 1522, Bishop GAWIN DOUGLAS, (as we are also told by Buchanan), in his journey to Rome, fell sick of the plague in London, and died. "His virtues (says he) were such, that he was very much lamented; for besides the splendor of his ancestry, and the comeliness of his person, he was master of a great share of learning, for the age in which he lived; and being also a man of high prudence, and singular moderation, in troublesome times, he was much esteemed in point of faithfulness and authority, even by the contrary factions. He left behind him considerable monuments of his integrity and learning, written in his mother-tongue."

Mr. Hume also says of Bishop Douglas, that when he died, he left behind him "great approbation of his virtues, and love of his person, in the hearts of all good men. For be-

sides the Nobility of his birth, the dignity and comeliness of his personage, he was learned, temperate, and of singular moderation; and in these so turbulent times, had always carried himself amongst all the factions of the Nobility equally, and with a mind to make peace, and not to stir up parties: which qualities were very rare in Clergymen of those days. He wrote in his native tongue divers things; but his chiefest work is the translation of Virgil, yet extant, in verse, in which he ties himself as strictly as possible; and yet it is so well expressed, that whoever shall essay to do the like, will find it a hard piece of work to go through with it. In his prologues before every book, where he hath his liberty, he sheweth a natural vein of poetry, so pure, pleasant, and judicious, that I believe there is none that hath written before or since, but cometh short of him. And in my opinion, there is not such a piece to be found, as his prologue to the 8th book, beginning *Of Dreams and of Drivellings*, &c. at least in our language."---Hist. of the House of Douglas, &c. Vol. II. P. 29.---This Prelate was a great admirer of Chaucer,

skirmish between the two parties ; and the Earl of Angus's party, after this, seized upon, pillaged, and ruined Archbishop Beaton's castle, because they considered him, says Buchanan, as the author of all the projects which the Earl of Lennox had undertaken (*). And the Primate was obliged to assume different disguises, and to conceal himself amongst his friends ; by which means only he could screen himself from the vengeance of the opposite party.

However, the Earl of Angus, and his party, being at length driven from Court, the Archbishop came again into power, but did not recover his office of Chancellor, which was bestowed upon Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow. From this time Archbishop Beaton continued to reside in his own palace at St. Andrews, and was concerned in some violent persecutions of the Protestants. It is alledged, indeed, in his justification, that he was not himself much inclined to proceedings of this kind ; but that he was prevailed upon to be concerned in them, by his nephew, David Beaton, Abbot of Aberbrothock ; who, we are told, governed at this time both his uncle, the Archbishop, and the King his master. But as Archbishop Beaton did actually give his name and sanction to these sanguinary proceedings, no influence of this kind can be thought, by any impartial man, sufficient to exculpate him from the guilt of being a persecutor.

The Clergy of Scotland were at this time chiefly in the French interest, and bitter enemies to England, because they considered King Henry VIII. as a friend to the Reformation. And they thought it necessary to endeavour to stop the progress of the new opinions, as they were called, by a vigorous prosecution. The first who was called in question for Heresy, was Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Feme, a man nobly descended, being nephew to the Earl of Arran by his father, and to the Duke of Albany by his mother, and not much above twenty-three years of age. This young gentleman had travelled into Germany, and having cultivated an acquaintance with Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, Francis Lambard, and other learned men, was by them instructed in the principles of the reformed religion ; in the profession of which he became so zealous, that he resolved to come back into his own country, and communicate to others that light which he had received. At his return, wheresoever he came, he spared not to lay open the corruptions of the Romish Church, and to shew the errors which were crept into the Christian religion ; to all which many gave a ready attention ; and

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(*) " The Earl of Angus knowing well that Archbishop Beaton was one of the chief stirrers up of the Earl of Lennox in this enterprize against him, remembering also how he had before stirred up Arran in the same manner, and his assisting of him at Edinburgh, and many other

times, goes now to St. Andrews, takes the castle by force, and pillageth it ; but could not apprehend the fox himself, who fled from hole to hole, and lurked secretly amongst his friends."—Hume's Hist. of the House of Douglas, &c. Vol. II. P. 96.

he was the more followed, on account of his learning, and the courtesies of his behaviour to people of all ranks. The Clergy, alarmed at this, under a pretence of holding a conference with him, enticed him to the city of St. Andrew's; and when he came thither, appointed Friar Alexander Campbell to keep company with him, and to use the best persuasions he could to divert him from his opinions. They had accordingly several conferences; in which the Friar acknowledged that many things in the Church did need to be reformed, and applauding his judgment in most of the points, he was rather confirmed in his opinions, than any way convinced of the contrary. And having thus staid some few days in the city, whilst he suspected no violence to be used, in the night he was apprehended, whilst he was in bed, and carried prisoner to the castle. The next day he was brought before the Archbishop, and accused of holding thirteen heretical articles; the first seven of which he declared to be, in his judgment, undoubtedly true; and he refused to condemn the others. And these articles being delivered to the Rector of the University, and twelve other Divines, they, on the 2d of March, 1527, delivered them back again to the Judges, with their certificate that they were heretical. Upon this judgment they founded their sentence, which was subscribed by the two Archbishops, three Bishops, six Abbots and Friars, and eight Divines. The very same day he was transferred to the secular Judge, and burnt that very afternoon. So eagerly expeditions were these pretended Ministers of the gospel of peace and love, to commit to the flames the body of their erring brother!

As Hamilton suffered death with great courage and constancy, the intentions of the Clergy were by no means answered by it. On the contrary, it promoted the Reformation in Scotland very much; and many publicly professed their opinion, that Patrick Hamilton suffered unjustly; though we are told, that one person was burnt for only saying so. But the Clergy were for still going on in the same tract; and were desirous of stopping the mouths of all such as preached what they disliked, in the same manner as they had done Hamilton's.

As Archbishop Beaton had incurred much odium by the death of Hamilton, he was not, we are told, much inclined to continue such severities; at least he did not much chuse to act in these measures himself; but chose rather to grant commissions to others, who were inclined to proceed against such as preached the doctrines of the Reformation. The humane Prelate would rather have avoided the burning of Heretics himself; but, notwithstanding this, he empowered other people to do it. It happened at one of the consultations of the Clergy at this time for the extirpation of Heresy, that some of those who were the most vehement amongst them, pressed earnestly for going on with the proceedings in the Archbishop's court. Upon which one Mr.

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John Lindsey, a facetious man, and in great credit, as it is said, with the Archbishop, said to them, "If you burn any more of them, take my advice, and burn them in cellars; for I dare assure you, that the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton has infected all that it blew upon."

About the same time one Alexander Seton, a black Friar, preached openly in the church of St. Andrew's, as it was said, that, according to St. Paul's description of Bishops, there were no Bishops in Scotland. This being reported to Archbishop Beaton, though not in very precise terms, he sent for Mr. Seton, and reproved him sharply for having said, according to his information, "that a Bishop who did not preach was but a dumb dog, who fed not the flock, but fed his own belly." Seton said, that those who had reported this were liars; but upon this witnesses were produced, who testified very positively to the fact. Upon which Seton, by way of reply, delivered himself thus: "My Lord, you have heard, and may consider, what ears these asses have, who cannot discern between Paul, Isaiah, Zachariah, Malachi, and Friar Alexander Seton. In truth, my Lord, I did preach that Paul saith, it behoveth a Bishop to be a teacher. Isaiah saith, that they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs; and the Prophet Zachariah saith, that they are idle Pastors. Of my own head I affirmed nothing, but declared what the spirit of GOD before pronounced; at whom, my Lord, if you be not offended, you cannot justly be offended with me." How much soever the Bishop might be incensed, he dismissed Friar Seton, we are told, without any hurt; but he, being well acquainted with the temper of his adversaries, soon afterwards fled out of the kingdom.

The Archbishop's nephew, David Beaton, acted for the several last years of his life, as his co-adjutor; and the Archbishop committed to him the charge of all ecclesiastical affairs; being himself aged and sickly, and not often seen abroad. The King, however, retained so much regard for the old Primate, as to permit him to dispose of all his preferments, by which means his relation, George Dury, obtained the rich abbey of Dumfermling, and one Mr. Hamilton became Abbot of Killwinning. The Archbishop, in the decline of his life, began to erect the New College in the University of St. Andrews; but he did not live to finish it. He left, however, the best part of his estate towards the completion of it; but that, after his death, was applied to a different purpose. He died in 1539, and was interred in the cathedral church of St. Andrews.

Archbishop Beaton enjoyed the Primacy of Scotland sixteen years. One of his successors, Archbishop Spotswood, says that "he was herein most unfortunate, that under the shadow of his authority, many good men were put to death for the cause of religion, though he himself was neither violently set, nor much solicitous, as it was thought, how matters went in the Church."

“ Church.” Lesley, Bishop of Ross, does indeed give Archbishop Beaton a very good character ; but, upon the whole, the character given of him by John Knox, seems to be not an unjust one. “ He was (says he) more careful of the world, than to preach CHRIST, or yet to advance any religion but for the fashion only ; and as he sought the world, it fled him not ; for it was well known, that at once he was Archbishop of St. Andrews, Abbot of Dunfermling, Aberbrothe, Killwinning, and Chancellor of Scotland.”



The Life of JOHN SKELTON,

JOHAN SKELTON was descended, according to Anthony Wood, from the Skeltons of Cumberland. He was educated in the University of Oxford; after which, entering into holy orders, he was made Rector of Dyse in Norfolk. But "he was esteemed (says Wood) more fit for the "stage, than the pew or pulpit." And it appears that having been guilty of some irregularities, not quite consistent with the clerical character, he fell under the heavy censure of his Diocesan, the Bishop of Norwich: and the accusations which were brought against him had the greater weight, on account of his having ridiculed and satirized the Monks and Dominicans with great severity in his writings.

It appears, however, that his poetical talents recommended him at Court, and obtained him the post of Poet-Laureat to King Henry VIII. who was pleased with his productions (a). But he having indulged his talent for satire by some keen reflections upon Cardinal Wolsey, this drew on him so severe a prosecution, that he was obliged to fly for shelter to the sanctuary at Westminster.

Skelton had been very satirical upon the Cardinal more than once. When Wolsey by his legantine power had removed the convocation which was held at St. Paul's, at the Archbishop of Canterbury's call, and summoned the Archbishop and Clergy to meet at Westminster, (a fight which had never before been seen in England), Skelton made this distich upon it:

"Gentle Paul lay down thy sword,

"For Peter of Westminster hath shaved thy beard."

9.

3 G

But

(a) At the end of Skelton's poem called *Elynour Rummin*, are the following lines:

Thus countrymen kinde,
I pray let me slide,
For this merry glee,
No hard censure to be.
King Henry the Eight
Had a good conceit
Of my merry vaine,
Though duncefull plaines:

It now nothing fits
The times nimble wits;
My *Laurell* and I
Are both wither'd dry,
And you flourish greene,
In your workes daily scene
That come from the presse,
Well writ I confesse;
But time will devour
Your poets as our;
And make them as dull
As my empty skul.

But Skelton attacked the Cardinal still more directly. In one of his pieces, alluding to Wolsey's design of erecting a College, he has these lines :

“ The goods that he hath thus gaddered,
 “ Wretchedly he hath scattered,
 “ In causes nothinge expedient ;
 “ To make windowes, walles, and dores,
 “ And to maintain bauds and whores,
 “ A great part thereof is spent.
 “ In these parties it is verified,
 “ That he hath a College edified,
 “ Of marvellous foundation ;
 “ Of prevy houses of baudry,
 “ He hath made a Stues openly,
 “ Endued with large exhibition.”

He also thus satirizes and describes the Cardinal's pompous manner of appearing in public :

“ With worldly pompe again incredible,
 “ Before him rydeth two prestes stronge ;
 “ And they bear two crosses right longe,
 “ Gapyng in every man's face.
 “ After them follow two laye men secular,
 “ And each of them holding a pillar
 “ In their honds, steade of a mate.
 “ Then followeth my Lorde on his mule,
 “ Trapped with gold under her cule,
 “ In everey poynts most curiously ;
 “ On each syde a poll-axe is borne,
 “ Which in none wothers use are worne,
 “ Portendyng some hyd mystery.
 “ Then hath he servants five or six score,
 “ Some behind and some before.”

Skelton met with much respect and kind treatment from John Islip, the Abbot of Westminster. And he continued in the sanctuary there till the time of his death, which happened on the 21st of June, 1529. He was buried in St. Margaret's chapel. It is said, that when he was upon his death-bed, he was charged with having children by a mistress he kept ; but he protested, that he kept her under the notion of a wife.

Erasmus speaks very honourably of Skelton, styling him, in an epistle to King Henry VIII. *BRITANNICARUM LITERARUM LUMEN ET DECUS* ; and of the like opinion (says Wood) were many of his time ; yet the generality said, that his witty discourses were biting, his laughter opprobrious and scornful, and his

His jokes commonly sharp and reflecting. "It appears, by his poem, intitled, *THE CROWN OF LAWREL*, (says Mrs. Cooper), that his performances were very numerous, though so few of them remain. In these there is a very rich vein of wit, humour, and poetry, though much debased by the rust of the age he lived in. His satires are remarkably broad, open, and ill-bred; the verse cramped by a very short measure, and incumbered with such a profusion of rhimes, as makes the Poet almost as ridiculous, as those he endeavours to expose. In his more serious pieces, he is not guilty of this absurdity; and confines himself to a regular stanza, according to the then reigning mode. His *BOUGE OF COURT*, is, in my opinion, a poem of great merit: it abounds with wit, and imagination; and argues him well versed in human nature, and the manners of that insinuating place. The allegorical characters are finely described, and as well sustained."

Wood says, that Skelton wrote fifty several pieces upon various subjects, both in prose and verse, besides translations. The following are some of them: 1. A comedy of virtue. 2. A comedy of good order. 3. Meditations on St. Anne. 4. On the virgin of Kent. 5. Sonnets on Dame Anne. 6. The peregrination of human life. 7. Solitary Sonnets. 8. The art of dying well. 9. Manners and fashions of the Court. 10. The art of speaking eloquently. 11. Invective against William Lily the grammarian. An answer to this was published by Lily. 12. Colin Clout. 13. Poetical fancies and satires. 14. Epitaphs, and verses on the deaths of several great persons; particularly verses on the death of Arthur, Prince of Wales; and a Latin elegy upon Margaret, Countess of Richmond, which is placed upon her monument in King Henry the Seventh's chapel in Westminster-abbey.

One of his most humorous productions is that intitled, *ELY-NOUR RUMMIN, THE FAMOUS ALE-WIFE OF ENGLAND*. This was printed in two sheets and a half in Quarto, with a picture in the title-page, representing an ill-favoured old woman, holding in her hand a pot of ale, with these lines under-written:

"When Skelton wore the Lawrel Crown,

"My ale put all the ale-wives down."

It was re-printed in the first volume of the *HARLEIAN MISCELLANY*, from an edition printed at London in 1624.

We shall close our account of Skelton, with an extract from his introduction to *THE BOUGE OF COURT*.

"In autumpne, whan the sunne in vyrgyne,
By radyante hete, enryped hath our corne,
Whan Luna, full of mutabylyte,
As Emperes the dyademe hath worne
Of our pole artyke, smyllynge half in scorn

At our folly, and our vnstedfastnesse,
The tyme whan Mars to warre hym dyd dres,

I, callynge to mynde the great auctoryte
Of poetes olde, whiche full craftely,
Vnder as couerte termes as coude be,
Can touche a trouthe, and cloke subtylly
With freshe vtteraunce; full sentencyously
Dyuerse in style: some spared not vyce to wryte,
Some of mortalitie nobly dyd endyte.

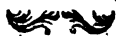
Whereby I rede, theyr renome and theyr fame
May neuer dye, but euermore endure,
I was fore moued to a-forse the same:
But IGNORAUNCE full soone dyd me dyscure,
And shewed that in this arte I was not sure:
For to illumine she sayd I was to dulle,
Aduysynge me my penne away to pulle,

And not to wryte: for he so wyll atteyne
Excedyng farther than his connyng is
His head maye be harde, but feeble his brayne;
Yet haue I knowen suche er this:
But of reproche surely he maye not mys,
That clymmeth hyer than he maye fotinge haue!
What and he flyde downe, who shall hym saue?

Thus, vp and downe, my mynde was drawen and cast,
That I ne wyfte what to do was beste,
So fore enwered that I was, at the laste,
Enforfed to slepe, and for to take some reste,
And to lye downe as soone as I my dreste;
At Harwyche-porte, slumbrynge as I laye
In myne hostes house, called Powers keye!

Me thought I saw a shyppe, goodly of sayle,
Come sayling forth into that hauen brood,
Her takelyn ryche and and of hys apparyle;
She cast an anker, and there she laye at rode;
Marchauntes her borded to see what she had;
Therein they founde Royall marchaundyse,
Fraughted with pleasure of what ye could denyse.

But than I thought I wolde not dwell behynde,
Among all other I put my selfe in prece;
Than there could I none aquentaunce finde;
There was moche noyse: anone one cryed cese
Sharpely commaundyng eche man holde his pece!
Maysters he sayd, the shyp that ye here se
The **BOWGE OF COURTE** it hyghte for certeynte.



The Life of ALEXANDER BARCLAY.

IT is a subject of dispute, whether this bard was born in England, or in Scotland. According to Dr. Mackenzie, he was a Scotchman; but, according to Pitts and Wood, he was an Englishman; and the latter opinion seems to be, upon the whole, the most probable (y). And there is also some reason to believe, that he was born in Somersetshire, where there is a village called Barclay, and an antient family of the same name. There is no account of the exact time of his birth, nor where he received the first part of his education. It appears, however, that he was entered at Oriel College, Oxford, at the time when Thomas Cornish, afterwards Bishop of Tyne, was Provost of that House; which might be about the year 1495.

When he had studied for some time in this University, and distinguished himself by his quickness of parts, and great affection for literature, he went over into Holland, and from thence travelled into Germany, Italy, and France. He studied the languages of those countries with great assiduity, and made a wonderful proficiency in them; which appeared, after his return home, by many excellent translations which he published. Upon his return into England, the Provost of Oriel College, who had been his patron at the University, having been promoted to the Bishopric of Tyne, made him his Chaplain, and afterwards appointed him one of the Priests of St. Mary, at Ottery in Devonshire, a College founded by John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter.

After the death of his patron, Bishop Cornish, he became a Monk of the Order of St. Benedict; and afterwards, according to

(y) Dr. Mackenzie is very positive that Barclay was a Scot; and, in order to prove it, enters into the genealogical history of the antient family of Berkley in Scotland; which, at the most, it has been observed, only tends to shew that he might be of that country. But it is alledged on behalf of the contrary opinion, that it is somewhat strange that, in those days, a Scot should obtain so much reputation in England, and especially for enriching and improving the English tongue. That had he written in Latin, or on the sciences, the thing would have been more probable. That it is extraordi-

nary that Barclay himself, in his several addresses to his patrons, should take no notice of his being a stranger; it being customary for the writers of that age to mention their countries, especially if they wrote out of their own. And that his patrons and preferments were both in the West of England, where it is not probable that a Scot should have so general an acquaintance, especially considering he was some years abroad. *Vid. BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.*

Bale, who was his cotemporary, says, "Some reckon him a Scot, while others believe him to have been born in England."

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to some, a Franciscan. It is, however, certain, that he was a Monk of Ely. And upon the dissolution of the monastery at Ely, which happened in 1539, he was left to be provided for by his patrons, of which his works, it is said, had gained him many. On the death of Thomas Eryngton, he had the Vicarage of St. Matthew, at Wokey in Somersetshire, bestowed upon him; and on the 7th of February, 1546, being then Doctor in Divinity, he was presented to the Vicarage of Much-Badew, or Baddow-Magna, in the county of Essex. And on the 30th of April, 1552, he was presented by the Dean and Chapter of London to the Rectorship of Allhallows, Lombard-street: but he did not enjoy this living above six weeks; for he died, in a very advanced age, at Croydon in Surrey, in the month of June, 1552, and was interred in the church there.

Bale has treated the memory of Barclay with much indignity; he says, that he remained a scandalous adulterer, under the colour of leading a single life. Pitts, on the other hand, assures us, that he employed all his study in favour of religion, and in reading and writing the lives of Saints. This, however, is certain, that he was admired in his life-time for his wit and eloquence; and for a particular fluency of writing, in which he was superior to any other writer of that age. And he was also a great refiner of the English language.

The writings of Barclay are very numerous, and no perfect catalogue of them is any where to be found; but the following list contains his principal pieces.

I. *ECLOGUES ON THE MISERIES OF COURTIERS.* These were printed at London by Richard Pynson, in Quarto, without any date, under this title: "Here begynneth the Eglogues of Alexander Barclay, Prest, whereof the first three containeth the myseryes of Courtiers and Courtes of all Princes in generall: the matter whereof was translated into Englyshe by the said Alexander, in fourme of dialogues, out of a book in Latin, named MISERIE CURIALIUM, compiled by Eneas Sylvius, poete and oratour, which after was Pope of Rome, and named Pius." This volume contains five dialogues; the three first are on the miseries of Courtiers; the fourth is, "of the behaviour of riche men anenst poetes;" and the fifth is, "of the citizen and uplandishman."

II. *The Lives of several Saints;* particularly St. Margaret, St. Catherine, and St. Ethelreda; and the life of St. George from Baptist Mantuan.

III. *Five Eclogues, from the Latin of Mantuan.*

IV. *A TREATISE AGAINST SKELTON.* It is conjectured that one cause of the animosity between these brother bards, was the ill-will that Skelton bore to those of the ecclesiastical character.

V. *OF THE FRENCH PRONUNCIATION.*

VI. *THE BUCOLIC OF CODRUS.*

VII. *THE CASTLE OF LABOUR.* Translated from French into English.

VIII. A TREATISE OF VIRTUES. This was originally written in Latin by D. Mancini.

IX. THE FIGURE OF OUR MOTHER HOLY CHURCH, EXPRESSED BY THE FRENCH KING.

X. THE HISTORY OF THE JUGURTHINE WAR. Translated from the Latin of Sallust. Barclay translated this at the desire of the Duke of Norfolk

XI. NAVIS STULTIFERA, OR THE SHIP OF FOOLS. This is the most celebrated of all our Poet's writings. It expresses the characters, vices, and follies of all degrees of men. It consists partly of verses of his own composition; and in part of translations from the Latin, French, and Dutch. It is, indeed, a kind of version of a book written under the same title by Sebastian Brantius; but then it is translated with great freedom, and with considerable additions. It is adorned with a great variety of pictures, printed from wooden cuts. It was first printed at London by Richard Pynson, in 1509, in small Folio; again in the same size in 1519, and in Quarto in 1570. It was dedicated by our author to his patron, Dr. Thomas Cornish, Bishop of Tyne.

We shall select from his SHIP OF FOOLS, as a specimen of his language and versification, the character of the HYPOCRITE.

“ Here maketh mine authour a speciall mencion
Of YPOCRITES not perfect of beleve,
And suche as abuseth their religion,
But I shall not so sharply them reprove,
I am full lothe religious men to greve,
Or discontent, for, if I so do would,
A mighty volume could not their vices holde.

I leaue their pride, I leaue their covetise,
I will not touche their malice nor enuy;
Nor them that Venus toyes exercise,
I will not blame, nor touche openly;
It were but folly sith is no remedy,
But if I should vpon me take the payne,
A new labour I should begin agayne.

I them not touche that cunning men disdayne,
There were none ende in blaming all the fooles,
The maners rude, vngodly and vilayne,
And asses eares cloaked vnder coules,
Knowing nothing, contemning yet the scooles!
All these to touche and fundry vices mo,
It were to fore a charge and payne to do.

I will not say that they vse any sinne,
Yet oft forsooth they follow not the way
Of the religion that they haue entred in,
Though they the name and habite not deny;
Yet of their life full harde it is to say,

But

“ Church.” Lesley, Bishop of Ross, does indeed give Archbishop Beaton a very good character ; but, upon the whole, the character given of him by John Knox, seems to be not an unjust one. “ He was (says he) more careful of the world, than to preach CHRIST, or yet to advance any religion but for the fashion only ; and as he sought the world, it fled him not ; for it was well known, that at once he was Archbishop of St. Andrews, Abbot of Dunfermling, Aberbrothe, Killwinning, and Chancellor of Scotland.”



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N. B. The Head of Cardinal Wolfey, in the 9th Number, is
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Page 45. in the Note, 1st col. l. 19. instead of MORE, read
MOVE; 2d. col. l. 15. instead of THIS THE, read THIS SO THE.
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